



SIMON LORD LOVAT.

(Beheaded 1747.)



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THE
L I F E,
A D V E N T U R E S,

And Many and Great

Vicissitudes of Fortune

Fraser 1st

R

O F

SIMON, Lord LOVAT, the Head of
the Family of FRASERS.

F R O M

His Birth at *Beaufort*, near *Inverness*, in the
Highlands of *Scotland*, 1668, to the Time of his
being taken by Capt. *Millar* after three Days Search,
in a hollow Tree, on the Coasts of *Knoidart* and
Arisaig.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *John Threld*, near *St. Paul's*. 1746

THE LIFE ADVENTURES



Vicissitudes of Fortune

SIMON MONTAGU, Esq. of the Hon. of
the Admiralty, &c. &c. &c.

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire is the
Highness of Devonshire, in the time of his
being in the County of Devon, &c. &c. &c.
in a few days, on the 21st of the month and
a few days after the publication.

LONDON:
Printed by J. B. Nichols, near St. Paul's Church.



P R E F A C E.

TH E rebellion, which, for ten months successively, rag ed with destructive fury, has produced various effects; some of which have been dreadful enough indeed, while others have tended to the general and publick Benefit. If we have seen a Part of his majesty's subjects rising in arms against, and seeking the destruction of their lawful sovereign we have likewise seen this unprovok'd malignancy of theirs, occasion the strictest union of the hearts, and hands of all ranks and degrees of People, in defence of their king and his royal family; and upon whose safety depends the continuance of every valuable blessings we enjoy. If the rebels were instructed by their principles to commit those horrible outrages, which were seen and felt in every

every place where they prevail'd, we were demonstratively taught what we were to expect, if popery and its professors, the pretender and his adherents, had succeeded in their enterprize. It was evident to every thinking man, that the Ax was laid to the root of our religion, liberties and properties, which must inevitably have been all lost and destroy'd, had the young Italian been able to force his Frenchify'd government upon us. And, tho' in the full plenitude of our enjoyment of these inestimable benefite, we did not prize them according to their real value, yet no sooner were we under an apprehension of their being wrested from us, but we rous'd from our Lethargy, and united as one man against the bold invaders. This was acting like Englishmen; and has shewn, to a demonstration, that no person formed against this nation can ever prosper, if its inhabitants are but hearty and unanimous in their own defence.

This rebellion has likewise brought us acquainted with the material genius and discipline of the highlanders; and tho' this has cost us the the lives of great numbers of brave men, yet at the same time it has made it appear, that they are not invincible; that their furious manner

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manner of attacking is to be guarded against, and even rendered useless; and that their broad swords and targets are not a match for the musquet and bayonet, in the hands of men who have skill and resolution to use them.

We are now truly inform'd of the strength, prowess, and capacity of those brutish savages who inhabit the Highlands of Scotland, their manner of life, their blind dependance upon, and passive Subjection to their lairds and Sovereign proprietors; who maintain their Sovereignty over these poor deluded wretches, by keeping them in ignorance, and by teaching them that an absolute unlimited obedience to their will and pleasure, is their principal duty; which if they know and practise accordingly, they have no occasion for any other arts or knowledge whatever. In consequence of which scheme of education, the Highlanders give themselves no trouble in bringing up their children; learning and mechanicks are, to them, superfluous things; their Laird knows enough for their whole Clan, and as he has been brought up at the University, he can judge best, to be sure, what is most for their good as well as his own. They rely entirely

tirely on his judgment, for their faith and conduct both in religion and politick. If he happens to be a good man, his example spreads its influence over the clan, and all his vassals conform themselves to the behaviour and conduct of their superior.

But if, on the contrary, he proves to be a man of bad principles, (which is too frequently the case) if his education has been Romish, and he has been bred in the persuasion, that the Chevalier at Rome has a title to the crown of these kingdoms, you may be sure, all his vassals, tenants, and dependants, are of the same belief to a man. And being fully possess'd of such principles, what wonder is it that they hold them so tenaciously, that no consideration whatever will induce them to quit their party, tho' nothing can be plainer than that utter ruin and destruction must inevitably by their Perseverance, while they continue on that side. As they knew nothing but what they are taught by their leaders, we need not be surpris'd at their constant and inviolable attachment to their persons and interests, and that they cheerfully and implicitly undertake whatever is enjoin'd them by these petty tyrants.

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As to these great men, who hold in dependency a great part of the north of Scotland, we have seen, in the course of this rebellion, what a vast power and authority they have and maintain in the several places where they are settled. And as they have held their despotick power among their respective clans through a succession of ages, there is scarce a man of them but look on himself as an independent prince, a sovereign, who has an hereditary right to be absolute service and obedience of all the people that live within his jurisdiction; and he really exercises this power as uncontrollably, as if he thought himself not accountable to one above him for any of his actions. If he has any military expedition in hand, whether for or against the prince whose subject he is, is not material; his vassals never enquire into the justice of his cause; but on the first intimation of his will that they should arm and join him, they immediately repair to his standard, and fight for him with as much earnestness, and vivacity as if they were on the point of losing all that they held dear in the world; whereas, had they but a just sense of their own slavery and vassalage, they would know that they had nothing worth fighting for, and that if they

should happen to change their master, they could not be in a worse condition than the present.

Was I able to give the history of every family which claims to be the head of a Clan in Scotland, I don't in the least doubt but I could bring numberless instances to verify the truth of the foregoing allegations; and that almost every Clan is an assemblage of slaves, labouring under the oppressive hands of one tyrant their gove nor, or lord proprietor. This has been made pretty evident in the course of this rebellion, in which we have seen the adject wretches paying in the most servile obedience to the most iniquitous orders of their haughty leaders. But by giving the History of one of these mighty chiefs, we may form a tolerable judgment of the rest of them; and therefore I have pitch'd on the Lord Lovat, as one whose singular and remarkable, life and character, is, at present, a living proof of all that has been advanc'd on this head.



T H E
L I F E
O F
S I M O N, Lord L O V A T,



WITH respect to the family of Lord Lovat, some imagine it to be of French extraction, from that part of the arms, which shews three Strawberries, in the French language Fraises is easy. Others, however, are of a different opinion, and affirm, that the Fraisers were originally a Scots family, and that the affinity of the name to the French, was occasion'd by the leagues and alliances which antiently subsisted between the two kingdoms. But as what has been asserted on this

this head, seems altogether traditionary, and therefore not absolutely to be depended upon, I shall relate what I more credible, and founded on such histories as were written by the best authors; namely, that the Frasers were a family of great power and authority, even in the reign of Melcolm the fourth, king of Scotland, about the year 1153, at which time they were dignified with the office of high sheriff of the shire of Peebles, under the denomination of *Viscomes de Traquoqueir*. This family possess'd large estates in the shire of Twedale, and other places in the south parts of Scotland, about the time that Alexander the third king of Scotland, intermarried with Margaret, daughter of Henry the third, king of England, which was in or near the year 1249.

Sir Simon Fraser was the head of that family. Sir Simon had two brothers, William and Andrew; William, after the decease of king Alexander, was one of the six nobles, whom the parliament appointed regents of the kingdom, during the *Interregnum* between the death of Alexander and the election of his successor to the throne. He is stiled in the commission of regency, *Gulielmus Frazerius Fani*
Andreae

Andreas Archiepiscopus, i. e. *William Fraser*, Archbishop of the Church of *Andrew*. His brother *Andrew*, who was afterwards knighted, was made high sheriff of *Sterling*, and is justly celebrated in history for a sincere lover of his country, for which he perform'd many signal and important services, in times when it was, in a manner, overwhelm'd with troubles and calamities. In the *Fœdera Angliæ*, we find this *Sir Simon Fraser*, and his son of the same name, both mention'd amongst the *Magnates Scotiæ*, the noblemen of *Scotland*, to whom was committed the settlement of the crown and government, after the decease of *Margaret*, the king of *Norway's* daughter, and grandchild to *Alexander the third*.

This princess was heir to the crown, and an agreement was actually made that she should be married to our *Edward the second*, then a prince, and afterwards king of *England*; the conclusion of which, by her sudden death, was prevented; which was succeeded by long and bloody wars between the two kingdoms; occasioned by *Edward the first* taking part in the quarrel between *Bruce* and *Baliol*, who contested the right of succeeding to the crown of *Scotland*.

Sir Simon Fraser the son, was in high repute for his steady and resolute attachment to the true interest of his country; and his conduct and valour were particularly distinguished in that memorable battle which was fought upon Rosaline-Muir, not far from Edinburgh, in the month of March 1302, between the English and Scots, the latter of which were commanded by sir Simon and one Cumin. The Scots army number'd about 8000 men, and the English about 30,000. The Scots attack'd three several bodies of their enemy, and gain'd a complete victory.

It is worth notice, that the English court at that time, look'd upon the Scots in general, as a parcel of undisciplin'd wretches, plunderers, and publick robbers, for so they are called by a famous historian. But notwithstanding the success of the Scots in this battle, the brave sir Simon, who stood like a bulwark in defence of his country, was afterwards in the course of this war, treacherously brought into the hands of his enemies; who had no sooner got possession of so rich a prize, but, by an order from court. he was carried prisoner to London, where he was formally condemn'd and executed as a traitor; but for no other

other crime, if we believe his countrymen, but his bravery in defending the liberties and independency of his country against the invasion of a foreign power. Some perhaps will superstitiously imagine, from some similar circumstances in the two cases, of sir Simon, and the present lord Lovat, that the former portends no good to the latter; especially, if what his lordship's Partizans say, be true (which yet is much to be doubted) that his lordship acted upon the same glorious end in view, which animated his great predecessor sir Simon, and for which he fell a sacrifice to the resentment of his enemies.

The brave sir Simon, that worthy, tho' unfortunate patriot, left issue a son, whose name was likewise Simon. This youth likewise fell into the hands of the English, who, in regard to his tender years, spared his life. But, in order to prevent his doing any farther mischief to the English nation, and to put it, as much as possible, out of his power, to revenge his father's death, they sent him to our army, which was then carrying on a war in France. Here he continued for some years; and his relations never hearing from him the while, supposed him to be dead. In consequence of which

which sir Hugh Hay of Twedale, and sir Patrick Fleming of Wigton, who had married sir Simon's two Sisters, did, in right of their wives, possess themselves of his Estates, which they divided betwixt them, and quarter'd the arms of the Frasers in their Atchievements. But how easily soever they acquir'd these large demesnes, they did not enjoy them without interruption: for sir Simon, being at length inform'd of the wonderful success of king Robert Bruce, the same love for his country, which inspir'd the breasts of his brave ancestors, fir'd his soul with a resolution therefore to continue no longer among the English, who were the profess'd enemies of his country, he made his escape from the army, and went directly over to Scotland; and having inform'd himself very exactly of the situation of affairs, he joined himself to the loyal party, who received him very joyfully, and with great marks of distinction.

He now thought it a proper juncture to reclaim his estate, of which Tweedale and Wigton had possess'd themselves; but having been a good while in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of it, they were very loth to quit their hold; and seem'd resolv'd to maintain themselves

themselves in it, notwithstanding any attempts sir Simon was not to be intimidated, nor deterr'd from endeavouring to recover his estate, by an resolution of th-^{is} to keep it: But king Robert, taking the case into mature consideration, rightly judged, that it would be greatly impolitic, at that juncture especially, when affairs were in so settled a condition, to disoblige two men, who had so much power, interest and influence in the country as they had, whose services had already entitl'd them to a considerable share in his favour, requested sir Simon to drop his claim.

Sir Simon, who was of generous disposition, and in regard that his too great eagerness in pursuit of his right, might occasion some distrels upon the government, which was then far from being in a settled condition, did so far consult the good of the publick, as to prefer it to his own private interest; and therefore freely consented to relinquish his right to the estate, and that the same should continue in the peaceable possession of his brothers-in-law. However, the king did not ask this of him, but with an intent to make him some equivalent satisfaction, for his ready acquiescence in his majesty's desires.

cordingly his majesty made him a free gift of the lands and barony of Kinnel, and of a considerable estate in the shire of Inverness, which some time before had fallen to the crown by the forfeiture of sir John Bisset.

But the king, not think this a sufficient recompence, gave him in marriage the lady Matilda Bruce his majesty's sister, and daughter of the earl of Ross; and as a memorial of his alliance with the royal blood, added the three crowns to the arms of the family. Sir Simon inheriting nothing of his father's but his virtues, and having no real estate but what was given him by the king, as above, was commonly called the knight of Kinnel. He lost his life, which he always held devoted to the service of his king and country, in the battle of Hallydon hill near Berwick upon Tweed, fought in the year 1333, between the armies of England and Scotland, when the former gained a signal victory. Hugh his son succeeded him, and king David, as an acknowledgment of his father's services, and as a recompence for his suffering and Death, made him a present of the barony of Lovat; by the style, title, and description of Hugo Frater Dominus de Lovat; or, Hugh Fraser Lord

Lord of Lovat. He married Isabel, daughter of that Hk, by whom he had a son Hugh, who in the year 1416 [being minded to increase his fortune as well as his family] married Janet, sister of William de Fenton, with whom he had a very large estate in the shire of Inverness. By this lady he had issue Alexander Frazer of Lovat, and Hugh Frazer.

Alexander died in the year 1430, without leaving any issue male of his body, and was succeeded in honour and estate, by Hugh his said brother. This Hugh was promoted to the dignity of a lord by king James III. who created him a baron and baronet of his parliament, and was the first peer of his family allied himself to the ancient house of Glamis, by inter-marrying with a lady of that family, by whom he had issue two sons, Thomas and Alexander.

Upon the demise of his father, Thomas lord Lovat, in the year 1501, inherited the honours and estate of Lovat, and joined himself in a marriage to a lady of the family of Huntly; and after her decease, to one of the house of Gray. By his first lady he had issue several sons, the eldest of whom named Hugh succeeded his father at his death. *Hugh*

Hugh lord Lovat, when he came of a proper age, married Anne, daughter of the laird of Grant; but she dying, and leaving no male issue, he married the lady Anne Ross, a descendant of noble and antient family of Ross; by this lady he had issue Alexander and William of Struy. In a memorable battle which this lord at the head of his clan, fought with the M Donalds, the 15th of July, 1544, he was slain, together with almost all his people. The action was as bloody and desperate as ever was fought in that country, and lasted twelve hours. Neither side was much superior in numbers at the beginning of the fight; and had a body of soldiers, which his lordship kept in reserve at some distance, come timely to his assistance, he must undoubtedly have been master of the field; but by the treachery of the commanding officer of that party, instead of supporting as he ought to have done, the main body that was engag'd, cowardly took to their heels and fled with great precipitation. Their manner of fighting then, was much the same as now; For as soon as they had sent their first flight of arrows, they took to their broad swords. At the conclusion of the action, there were but two Frasers that came off the field, both terribly wounded; and of the M Donald's

M'Donald's no more than seven, and the most of them were all sorely wounded.

The victory was claimed by both parties; but whoever had it, there was no great room for triumph. The M'Donald, it seems, were the aggressors upon account of an old quarrel which had subsisted between the two clans perhaps for an age or two before; and the coals were now blown into a blaze by the family of the Huntly's, with a design to destroy the Frasers.

Huntly bore them a grudge for their attachment to the family of Argyle, with whom the Frasers always lived in friendship, and were ready on all occasions to lend their assistance, especially in any disputes or quarrels they might have with any other family; which in these days, were generally decided by the sword.

Buchanan, the Scots historian, having related the particulars of this action concludes his narration with the following remarkable words. The Frasers, being inferior in number were overcome, and killed to a man; whereby a very numerous clan, and who on many occasions

occasions had deserved well of their country, had been totally extinguish'd, had it not been that, by the good pleasure of the almighty, as it is reasonable to imagine, eighty gentlemen, who were the chiefs of that family, had left their wives big with child at home, all of whom, at their respective times were deliver'd of male children, who all arriv'd safe to man's estate.

Here we are, occasionally, furnish'd with an observation with respect to the present unhappy situation of that deluded clan; viz. that they are now reduc'd to almost the same calamitous condition by the prodigious havoc that was made among them at the battle of Culloden; where the strength and powers of the highlanders were exerted to the utmost, and suffer'd a most fatal overthrow by the *English* army, commanded by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland.

Thus this family, which in a course of several ages, has been distinguish'd by a succession of illustrious patriots and heroic defenders of their country, is in danger of being utterly extinguish'd, and its honours, which for many generations have been continued un-
stain'd

stain'd, must now in all probability, receive a final period; no shining embellishments, no additional dignity is like to be given, to that glorious bench of worthies, who have stood, and will for ever stand the bright example of true patriots; the unhappy conduct of one insatuated man, the chief of this great and antient clan, has brought ruin and disgrace upon himself and all under his influence and direction; shame and confusion must now be the portion of him and his unhappy children, most unhappy in having such a man for their father; and his poor deluded adherents and followers, if any should happen to survive the general calamity, will have reason to curse the remembrance of their attachment to a chief, who has overwhelm'd them with himself, in an extricable abyss of misery. But this by way of digression; let us now proceed with the matter in hand.

After a lineal descent of several heirs, together with the honours and estate from father to son, during which time there were divers intermarriges with other noble families, the whole became vested in the person of Hugh lord Lovat.

His lordship married a daughter of the earl of Weems, who bore him two sons, Hugh, master of Lovat (a distinction which the eldest son of the family always has) and Thomas called Thomas Fraser of Beaufort.

Hugh, the eldest, married a daughter of the earl of Weems, who was afterwards Earl of Leven; by this lady he had issue a son named Hugh.

The master of Lovat died before his father; and upon the demise the lord Lovat, the inheritance fell to his grand-child, who, when he came of age, married a sister of the earl of Cromarty's; by this lady he had issue

Hugh, who was the last lord of the family that bore that name. This lord married a daughter of the marquis of Athol's; but in the year 1696, his lordship dying without issue male, by a settlement made in his life-time, the honours and estate of Lovat, were limited to his eldest daughter, and the heirs male of her body.

Here then we see the line of male heirs in the lordship of Lovat was broke, which was the

the occasion of innumerable troubles in that noble family; as will be seen in the further progress of this history.

Thomas Frazer of Beaufort abovemention'd obtain'd in marriage a daughter of the laird of Σ Leod, who brought him three sons and a daughter, namely Alexander, Simon, the present lord Lovat, John and Sibella. Upon the death of Hugh lord Lovat, John Sibella. Upon the death of Hugh lord Lovat, the last of that name, and of the said Thomas and Alexander his son without issue male, Simon the second Son was, in course, the next heir in the male line; and in consequence thereof, laid his claim to the honours and estate of Lovat, notwithstanding the abovementioned establishment of Hugh lord Lovat, and instead, that by the course of Feudal succession, and the antient laws of that kingdom, the right of inheritance descended to him.

Thus have I given a plain and distinct, tho' brief account of this antient family; which I apprehended was in some measure necessary, in order to shew the reader as well the antiquity of the family, as the virtues and grandeur of the ancestors of the present lord Lo-

vat; who, I'm afraid, will be look'd on only as a foil, when set in the same point of light, with the great men from whom he boasts his descent.

That satyrical expression, which the Poet has thrown out at some sad sort of noblemen in his time, *Nobilitas est unica Virtus, Nobilitas is their only Virtue*, may with too great propriety be applied to him; as will be too evidently appear in the following account of his manner of Life and conversation, even from his youth to the present time.

Simon, lord Lovat, being, as above set forth, descended originally of the family of the name of Frasers [which, for the bravery of some of its chiefs, was enobled by the kings of Scotland] was born at Beaufort near Inverness, in the year 1668, in the highlands of Scotland. Upon the death of his Father, which happen'd while our Simon was very young, his friends sent him to the laird of M'Leod, who, in regard to the family, took upon himself the care and direction of his education. Accordingly he sent him to a Grammar school, where, having a genius pretty apt for learning, he perform'd his exercises to
the

the satisfaction of his master, and was a good proficient in the classics; from thence he was sent to the King's college, in the University of Aberdeen; where, with an application not commonly observ'd in youths of his rank and quality, he devoted himself to the study of the Sciences; and by the rapid progress he made in every branch of learning which he engaged in, he discover'd an uncommon genius.

But as learning was not to be the business of his life, when he had furnish'd himself with enough, at least as he thought, for a man of quality, he quitted the University; and having but a very distant prospect of an estate, he soon came to a resolution of pushing his fortune some other way; and as his ancestors had gain'd immortal glory, and the favour of their princes, by addicting themselves to arms, he had as good reason to believe, that that he might rise to honour and wealth by the same means.

Accordingly he enter'd himself a volunteer in the army, and by the interest of some of the family of Athol, he got a company in the Lord Tullibardin's regiment, where he served

as captain for some time: But happening to have some Disputes with the marquis of Athol in relation to the right of inheritance to the the honours and estate of the family of Lovat, which our captain claimed, as heir male, in preference to the claim of the eldest daughter of the late Hugh lord Lovat, grandchild to the marquis, according to the settlement which his lordship made in his life-time: I say, having a misunderstanding with the marquis of Athol on this account, he threw up his commission and quitted the service; and rejected with a noble indignation, and a spirit unworthy of his Ancestors, the proposal that was made him by the marquis, namely, that he, the captain, should assign, convey, and make over all his right, title, and claim to the said inheritance of Lovat, to the eldest daughter of the late Hugh lord Lovat, according to the settlement which his lordship had made before his death: in consideration of which resignation the marquis promis'd to procure his preferment in the army.

But the captain absolutely refused to make any such renunciation; protesting, at the same time, that no consideration whatever should prevail on him, or him to sell, renounce, or

disclaim

his birth-right, as he must do, if one any pretence he resign'd or gave up his claim of right to the estate of Lovat, and, in consequence thereof, to be chief of the Pasers. This Refusal of the Captain's, in so positive a manner, has highly resented by the family of Athol; who determin'd to try all means practicable utterly to ruin him, and thereby frustrate and defeat his pretensions.

But this inveteracy of his enemies did not in the least dismay the captain, but was rather a whet to his resolution to assert his right with the greater vigour and firmness, maugre all their attempts to the contrary. To this end, his first endiavour was, to insinuate himself into the esteem and good graces of the daughter of the late lord Lovat, who was then generally look'd upon as the heiress of Lovat, well knowing, that if he could marry this lady, both their pretensions would at once be united, and a final end would soon be put to all their quarrels and fueds, which already had, and were likely to occasion a great deal of blood and disquietude in the family.

In order to put his projected scheme in execution, he, in the year 1694, got acquainted with

with one Frazer of Tenecheil, who was intimate with the lady Dowager, the mother of the young lady, and frequently visited them at their seat at Castledowny near Inverness.

This Frazer our captain employed in conveying his addresses to the young lady, who was then about 15 years of age, sometimes by letters, and sometimes by word of mouth, and so effectually urged his suit, that he at length gain'd the ascendant over the young lady's heart; which began to be sensible of all the tenderness and pleasing Anxieties which are the usual effects of the first impressions of love.

In short, she entertain'd a sincere affection for her lover, and had the greater value for him as being her young chief; a title of Distinction of honour with the youth of both sexes, in that country, are early taught to set the highest value upon, in order the better to keep up the farce of superiority which the chiefs of their clans gravely exercise over their wretched vassals and dependants.

The captain, whose eyes were always open when love or interest was the point in view, was far from being backward in improving to his own advantage the favourable sentiments which the young lady had discover'd for him; and therefore took the first opportunity to press her to marry him; but at the same time let her know, that it was necessary that this affair should be transacted in the most private manner; for, if it should happen to take with, and the family should be in the least appriz'd of their design it would be certainly render'd abortive, and the unspeakable happiness, which by this marriage, [this union of their hearts and hands, he propos'd, and was firmly persuad- ed, would rebound to them both, would be utterly blasted, and their hopes defeated. And therefore, to put it out of the power of fortune to frustrate their good intentions, he entreated her to marry him without the knowledge or [consent] of any friend or relation whatever.

The young lady, with very little hesitation resign'd herself to be govern'd by the advice and direction of her lover; and the time and place of meeting being agreed upon, very early

ly one morning, in the middle of Winter, she set out from her mother's house, accompanied only by this confident, in a very rigorous season; and [whether thro' haste, or to avoid suspicion, is uncertain] some will have it, that she travell'd some miles without shoes and stockings.

When they had got a good distance from her mother's house, a qual of conscience, of a sudden, seiz'd upon Tenechiel her guide, and he would proceed no farther. His pretence was, that he was carrying on an affair, which he was now assured, was an offence both to god and man.

But the true reason of this sudden alteration in him, no doubt, was, that by this rash action of his, he fear'd he should bring the resentment of the lady's family upon him, and the vengeance of the Athols, which he was no ways able to encounter; or perhaps, thinking he should make a merit of a discovery of such importance, he forced the young lady, with great reluctance, to walk back again to her mother, and disclosed the whole secret to her.

You

You may easily imagine, that her mother was no less surpris'd than angry at this Adventure of her daughter : But who can conceive the Torment which the Captain suffer'd from the Storm of Passions which raged in his Breast, at the hearing of the unwelcome News ? Grief, Anger and Despair, alternately took Possession of his Soul. Sometimes you might have heard him raving like a Mad-man, and cursing the Destinies which had allotted him such hard Fortune ; at other Times he might be seen walking in a solitary Grove, with foulded Arms, and lost in Thought, pondering on his wretched Condition, which was now irretievable lost the only means he could ever expect of getting the *Lovat* Estate.

What the young Lady suffer'd upon this occasion, what deepfetch'd Sighs heav'd her lovely breast, what Floods of Tears gush'd, uncall'd, for her late sparkling Eyes, what Sorrow and Vexation pierc'd her tender Soul, which none but her water'd Pillow must be witness to, I leave to the Imagination of those Lovers, who, when they had almost gain'd the Submit of their Wishes, by some cross Wind of Disappointment, weré thrown headlong from their Hopes, and plug'd into black unutterable Despair.

This Adventure soon got Air, and made a great Noise in the Country ; the Family of *Athol* was exceeding alarm'd at this Attempt upon the Heiress of *Lovat* ; and therefore, to

prevent any Thing of that Kind for the future, and to cut off all Hopes that Captain *Frazer* might entertain of succeeding at some other more lucky Opportunity, thought it highly necessary she should be remov'd from her mother's House; and accordingly the Marquis order'd a proper Guard to escorte her to her Seat at *Dunfield*.

But so long as the Lady continued unmarried, there was still Danger of some Miscarriage; and the Marquis prudently considering, that the Female Constitution, at best, is but frail and variable; and that if a Woman once takes it in her Head, that she wants Something which is in the Power of Man to give her, it is not Locks, nor Bolts, nor Guards can keep her from it, he thought it his best Way to match her into some noble Family.

After mature Deliberation he cast his Eyes upon the Master of *Salton*, the eldest Son of the Lord of that Name, whose Family is indeed of the *Frazer*, but distinct from the rest. The Lord *Salton* very readily embraced the Proposal, as being an Alliance no less honourable than advantageous for his Family. No Time was delay'd, but every Thing was soon settled to their mutual Satisfaction, and a Day appointed for the Solemnization of the intended Marriage. The Day being come, the Bridegroom (as he thought himself) attended by his Father the Lord *Salton*, Lord *Mungo Murray* the

the Marquis's Brother, with several others of their Relations and Persons of Distinction, with a large Retinue of Servants and Attendance, set out from Lord Salton's Seat near *Frasburgh*, for *Dunkeld*, in order to celebrate and complete the intended Marriage, and in their Way proposed to pay their Respects to the Lady Dowager of *Loyal*.

But Captain *Frazer* being inform'd of all their Motions, resolv'd, if possible, to prevent the Completion of a Match, which, if perfected, would prove the utter Ruin and Destruction of all his Hopes and Expectations of one Day being able to accomplish his Designs at that Lady. To this End he summon'd together several of his Clan, whom he knew to be resolute Fellows, and in whom he could confide; and being perfectly inform'd of the Route which Lord *Salton* and his Company would take, he propos'd to lie in Ambush with his *Frasers* in the Wood of *Bouchreive* which is situated within two Miles of *Inverness*.

His Scouts having brought him Word, he took upon him the Part of a General, who harangues his Soldiers before the Battle begins; and thus he bespoke them.

' Friends, Countrymen, and, let me add, (since the Occasion may require it) Fellow Soldiers; I need not now tell you, since you already are acquainted with, the important Reason that inclin'd me to bring you to this Place.

I am

I am truly sensible of your Friendship, and thankfully acknowledge your Readiness to assist me in this just and honourable Enterprize; the Intent of which is to frustrate a Match, which if it be accomplish'd, will for ever deprive me of a young Lady, on whom I have so deeply fix'd my Affections, that my parting with her would be like the Separation of my Soul and Body; and not only this, but it would likewise rob me of the only Means, I have left, of recovering those Honours and Estates which lawfully descend to me from my noble Ancestors, and are wrongfully detain'd from me by my Enemies.

I must confess the Enterprize is hazardous, but my All is at Stake, and a Man must be absolutely lost to all Sense of Honour and Virtue, who could sit down easy under the Burden of so many accumulated Injuries, and not make one bold push for his Relief. I am therefore resolutely determin'd to force my Rival to quit his injurious Design, or perish in the Attempt.

But tho' this is my Relution, in so Assertion of my own just Rights, why should I persuade you, Gentlemen, into any Dilemma on my Account? You have Families and Possessions of your own; and it would be reasonable in me to desire you to embark in my Misfortunes; and I should have no Reason to complain should you refuse to sacrifice them to my Interests or Service.

The

The Danger is imminent, and perhaps may cost some of our Lives, which are too dear and valuable to your Families than that you should expose them to any Hazard in my Quarrel. Return, therefore, I beseech you, and leave me to my own Fortune.'

This Harangue produc'd the effect he wish'd for: The Captain's requesting them to return Home to secure their Persons, cast such a reflection on their Honour, as well as a Suspicion on their Fidelity and Constancy to his Interest, that they complain'd of the Injury which did them, in supposing they were capable of fear, or wanted Firmness to support and defend his Quarrel, be it what he would.

'Well then, said he, since I find you so resolute, and so heartily espouse my Cause, I must intreat you to follow my Directions. Make ready your Arms, for the Enemy is just at Hand, range yourselves in Order of Battle, and be ready to receive, or attack the Enemy, as Occasion may require. Observe my Motions, and as you see me act, do you behave accordingly.'

And so saying, instantly drew his Sword, and cock'd a Pistol, clapp'd Spurse to his Horse, and gallop'd up to the Enemy, which were now within a small Distance; and coming up to Lord *Mungo Murry*, seiz'd him by the Shoulder, and upbraided him for his unjust and dishonourable Designs against, such as he had never merited at his Hands, and were too base
for

for a Man of Quality to be engaged in, charged him, upon the Peril of his Life, to surrender himself and his Company Prisoners at Discretion, or they were all but dead Men, and that he should be the first Man that should feel his Resentment.

His Lordship, terrified at so unexpected and daring Attack, and no less frighten'd at the furious Looks and threatening Words of the Captain, submitted to Necessity, and with this mild Reply, *I hope, my dear Lord, that this will not be the End of your Friendship and Acquaintance.* My Lord, Salton observing in what Manner Lord Mungo Murray was treated by Capt. Fraser, resolv'd to sell his Life at a dear Rate before he would submit dishonourably without a Stroke, and therefore prepare to make a stout Defence; which those on the other Side perceiving, one of the Frasers advanced with a Blunderbuss cack'd in his Hand, which he was just on the Point of firing on his Lordship, but was prevented by one of his Attendants, who knock'd down the Blunderbuss, and so hinder'd its going off.

His Lordship, however, immediately recollecting himself, consider'd, that his Resistance might occasion a great Effusion of Blood, tho' he and his Party should get the better of his Adversaries, and that possibly, the Quarrel might be compos'd by more friendly Means, he likewise surrender'd himself upon amicable Terms, together with all his Servants and Retinue.

Things

Things being brought into this peaceable Disposition, the Captain order'd them all to dismount and resign their Arms; which being done, he carried them in Triumph to the Lady Dowager's House; where he no sooner arrived, but he disposed his Prisoners in several Apartments, and set a Guard over them, to prevent their Escape before he could settle the Terms of Pacification, and ordered and directed every Thing with that Authority, as if he had been sole Lord and Master of the House.

Like an old practis'd Genera', who, having won a Battle, gives his Enemies no Leisure to recruit, but pursues him till he has brought him entirely to his own Terms; so Captain *Frazer*, having obtained so notable a Victory, resolv'd to improve it to the greatest Advantage he could. In order to which, he causes a prodigious high Gibbet to be erected before the House, in Sight of the Prisoners, who might see it from their Windows,

All of them were immediately struck with a terrible Panick, as apprehending it was design'd for them; and therefore sent immediately to the Captain, and on his coming to them, they desir'd he would acquaint them, what were the Terms he demanded for their Releasement? The Captain answer'd, that the Conditions which their Chiefs must agree to it, they expected their Lives or Liberty, were, that the Lord *Sutton* and his Son should absolutely

lately quit, renounce, and disclaim, all their Pretensions to the Heiress of *Loval*; that the young Lord *Salton* should immediately desist from his Suit and Courtship; and all of them return to their own Homes, without proceeding any farther.

If his Lordship and his Son think proper to agree to these Terms, well and good: if not, their Lordships must excuse me if I use the Right of Arms. The Lord *Salton*, seeing there was no Room to parley, or raise Difficulties, agreed to the Captain's Proposal; and the Articles were immediately order'd to be reduc'd into Form, and engross'd. But Capt. *Frazer*, knowing very well that Deeds executed by Persons under Distress or Confinement, would not be binding in Law, but would be liable to Disputes and Litigations, (which it was not his Business to deal in, especially on that Occasion) propos'd to set the Lord *Salton* and his Son at Liberty, and give them a Permission to go to *Inverness*, in order to execute those Deeds which were drawn up according to their mutual Agreement; but that their Friends and Retinue, should, the mean while, remain as Hostages for the Performance of what had been stipulated between them. Accordingly his Lordship and his Son, with Captain *Frazer*, and some of his Company, who might be Witnesses to the signing of the Deed, set out for *Inverness*, which was but a small Distance from the Lady Dowager's. At their Arrival there,

the Deeds were executed; thus this Affair was amicably adjusted, and the Prisoners set at Liberty, tho' it had to have been attended with very bad Consequences.

But notwithstanding the Success, and the breaking off this Match, the Captain saw plainly enough, that it was impossible for him to come at the Heiress of *Lovat*, since she was guarded in the strictest Manner at *Dunkeld*. However, he wisely consider'd, that as he was got into Possession of the *Lovat* Estate, something must be done, and that without Delay, or he should be in Danger of being turn'd out again, perhaps, *Vi & Armis*. In order therefore to give some Colour to his Pretensions of keeping it, he thought of this Expedient, namely, That as he found unsurmountable Difficulties in accomplishing his Designs upon the Daughter, he imagined he should find, in all Probability, much less in getting the Mother, since he already had her in his Power; and thereupon made his Addresses to her as a Suitor; thinking, that if he could but persuade her to accept him for a Husband, and he should have Issue of that Marriage a Son, that Son would stand in the same Degree of Relation to the Marquis of *Arbol* as the Heiress did; and therefore he had Reason to presume, that the Marquis would never oppose the Succession of that Issue to the Honours and Estate of *Lovat*. Thus the Captain imagin'd, a Reconciliation would be wrought among all Parties, and their

all certer in this happy Event. Having thus form'd this Scheme in his Imagination, he immediately set about the Prosecution of it by an Application to the Lady Dowager to marry him. This he did in the most serious Manner, and us'd the most persuasive Arguments he could invent, or the Greatness of the Subject suggest, to induce her Compliance with his Request.

But all in vain; she was inexorable; and gave him a positive refusal, which she solemnly protested she should never depart from. The Captain was, at first thunderstruck, or like one had unexpectedly heard Sentence of Death pass'd upon him, when he was in full Hopes of Life and Pardon. She alledg'd, that her Brother the Marquis would never give his Consent to any Thing of that Kind; the Disparity of their Years; with the fatal Consequences that would certainly attend a Marriage, which must undoubtedly be disapprov'd by all her Friends and Relations, with a Multitude of other Arguments which she produc'd to convince him why she out not to accept of his Proposals, or to expect her Compliance.

The Captain, tho' repuls'd, was not beaten out of the Field; and having recover'd his Spirits a little, address'd her after this Manner.

Madam, said he, I am equally surpriz'd and sorry, that you should refuse to barken to my Proposal, which, I am sure, reflects no Dishonour either

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on you or the Marquis. The Arguments you have produc'd, to convince me of the Unreasonableness of my Lequest, are, give me leave to say, far from being valid or conclusive. But as they appear so to you, I shall use no farther Persuassions; but yet you must not imagine that I will give over my Suit so easily. I determin'd; and therefore, since fair Means have prov'd fruitless, I shall take such measures as will be less agreeable to you. Your Obstinacy may hurt you, but shall not prevent me of my purpos'd Intention. Think of this, and in an Hour's Time I will wait on you again, to know your final Resolution.

So flung himself out of the Room, without waiting for her Reply, but not in such a Hurry, as to forget to turn the Key and put it in his Pocket.

But who can describe the Tumult of Passions that were rais'd in the Breast of this unhappy Lady? Nothing but dismal Reflections succeeded each other in her Mind. Horrors upon Horrors, and Despair in its blackest Garb, were continually presented to her distracted Soul.

Not one Glimpse of Hope appear'd to her Relief; not a Friend was near her to lend her Assistance or Advice; not a Servant that dar'd open his Mouth for her; no trusty Confidant to whom she could disclose her Mind or consult with. Confusion, Distraction, and Despair were her only Companions for that dreadful Hour.

In

In the mean Time Capt. *Frazer* was very busy in securing the Servants, by sending them out of the Way, on different Errands, and in making Preparations to put his intended Project in Execution. He call'd his trusty Myrmidons about him, and instructed them in the several Parts they were to act, and had before privately procur'd a Parson, who was likewise to perform his Part in the Trog-Comedy, that was presently to be exhibited.

Having put all Things in a proper Disposition, he then repair'd to my Lady's Chamber; where he found her drown'd in Tears, wringing her Hands, and uttering her Complaints in Cries and Lamentations, that would have drawn Compassion from any Heart less harden'd than a Stone.

The Moment she saw him enter the Room, she fell down on her Knees, and with Tears that ran plentifully down her Cheeks, most earnestly besought him to desist from his Purpose, since it was absolutely out of her Power to comply with his Proposal, and entreated him to consider the dreadful Consequences that would certainly follow any Act of Violence upon her. But in vain were all her Remonstrances, fruitless her Tears and Entreaties; the Reasons she urg'd, and the Arguments she us'd, were all lost in Air, and serv'd no End, but to make the Captain the more resolute to finish the Affair that very Instant.

Upon

Upon which, on a Signal given, his Companions rush'd into the Room, with the Parson at the Head of them. The Lady immediately perceiv'd that the Captain was really in Earnest, and that he was determined to accomplish what he had threaten'd. Again she filled the House with her Cries and Lamentations; that there was none near her, that could or durst afford her the least Assistance.

And indeed the Captain told her as much; and that the Resistance was to no manner of Purpose; and therefore that she had better make a Virtue of Necessity, and submit patiently to what there was no Possibly of avoiding. The Lady however still persisted in her refusal; and the Parson was ordered to proceed to the nuptial Ceremony; and the Captain having gone through his Part of it, when it came to hers, she stood silent, and could not be persuaded to give any Answers to the Questions which were put to her. So that the Marriage was not compleated, as her Part in it was entirely wanting.

Capt. Fraser having proceeded thus far in his Scheme, knew that he had done too much already to be forgiven, and therefore, without farther Deleberation, resolv'd to finish the Whole by immediate Consummation; and so desired my Lady instantly to go to Bed, without obliging him to use Violence to compel her to it.

This

This rais'd a new Storm in her Soul ; another Flood of Tears gush'd from her Eyes ; and her loud Exclamations might have been heard all over the House : Which the Captain observing, and thinking all further Arguments or Persuasions useless, went roundly to work, and directly ordered his Attendants to undress her and put her into Bed.

They, not being much acquainted with a Lady's Dress, were a little awkward about it ; and he who had the unlacing her Stays, not readily finding the Way of it, out with his Durk, and cut the Lace. With much ado they undress'd her, and carried her by main Force to the Bed, and put her in ; and the Captain, having pull'd off his Cloaths, went to her, and in the Presence of my Myrmidons, perform'd the first Feat of Consummation, tho' it has been said, not without their Assistance.

Fame was not idle in propagating the Story of this extraordinary Marriage, for it soon became the Subject of common Conversation all over the Country ; and it was not long before the Marquis was inform'd of all the Particulars and Circumstances of it. It's easy to imagine, that the Marquis was prodigiously alarm'd, when he heard the Story, and the Confirmation of it from unquestionable Authority. The Notoriety of the Fact, he judg'd required that the Offendor should be immediately called to Justice : and accordingly, ha-
ving

ving applied to a Magistrate, he obtained a Warrant for the Apprehending of Captain *Frazer*: But imagining he should meet with Opposition in the Execution of it, from the Captain and his Desperadoes, he procured a Party of Dragoons for his Assistance. Captain *Frazer*, who kept a good Lookout, was perfectly inform'd of all the Motions and Designs of his Enemy against him: and therefore rightly judg'd that *Castledown* would soon be too hot to him: This happened in the Year 1695.

It was now the Captain began to see some of the fatal Effects which his Lady had before told him would be produc'd by the Marriage which he had forced upon her. But it was too late to repent, or to recall Yesterday again; and therefore he had nothing more to do than to employ his Wits in forming Schemes in what Manner to elude the Stroke of Justice, which he plainly saw hung over his Head. Should he muster up his Friends and Followers, he had Reason to doubt whether they would stand by him in a Cause so apparently bad; or if they were ever so willing, their Numbers were infinitely inferior to those which he knew would be brought against him; and that if he should be taken, his Enemies were too powerful and too enraged to suffer him to escape out of their Hands, or to avoid that Punishment which was due to his Crimes from the Laws of his Country.

Having

Having weighed all Things in the Balauce of his Judgment, he thought it his best Way to get off as fast as he could. And having acquainted his Lady with his Intention, she was easily persuaded to bear him Company in his Flight. Accordingly, having mounted her upon a Pad of her own, and himself upon a stout Horse, with only one Servant to attend them, they rode away towards the Sea side; where having disposed of his Horses, he took Boat, which carry'd him, his La'y and Servant to a little obscure Island called *Agis*.

The Captain's Thoughts were now wholly employ'd in working out some Seheems to extricate himself out of this Dilemma, which his own Imprudence, to say no worse, had reduced him to.

Here he continued for a Month or six Weeks and by this Time the Captain had found Means to work himself so effectually into the good Graces of his Lady, that, as he reported, she doated on him, and was always uneasy in his Absence; notwithstanding her declared Aversion to, and Abhorrence of the Match, before their half acted Marriage was solemnized.

However, a Doubt still remained with the Lady, concerning the Legality of the Marriage since the Ceremony had the Forms prescrib'd for it, were not compleated, and even her own Consent not given.

But besides this Scruple of Conscience; which she pretended gave her no little Uneasiness, she

was

was afraid of a worse Consequence, namely, That the Outrage and Violence which were committed upon her, when she was forc'd to Bed, and compell'd to submit to the embraces of the Captain, would, by the Laws of *Scotland*, be construed into an actual Rape, which would necessarily endanger his Life; For it was evident that the Marquis was determined to prosecute him with the utmost Rigour, and was then in actual Pursuit of him.

These Considerations perplex'd them both very much; however, the Captain had an Expedient in Reserve, which he hop'd would remedy all the Evils they apprehended; which was by a Re-marriage. A Minister was accordingly sent for, and their Marriage solemnized a-second Time, with all the Ceremonies that are appointed to be used on that Occasion, and, you may be sure, her own Consent was not wanting.

But the Captain, knowing his Enemies were as vigilant as he was cautious, was sensible that he and his Lady could not be long conceal'd in the Place where they were; and dreading as the worst of Evils, the falling into their Hands, it was high Time, he thought, to consider what was to be done next. With regard to himself, he could make a good Shift enough, but then what must be done with his Lady, who he was willing should be as secure as himself? After maturely deliberating on the Matter he considered, that tho' the Marquis

was angry with him, he was not so with his Lady; and that he would receive her very kindly, though he wou'd be glad to see him hang'd.

And therefore he advis'd her, since he could no longer take Care of her, to return to her Brother the Marquis, who, no Doubt, wou'd receive her with open Arms. As to himself it was with the greatest Reluctance that he was oblig'd to part with her; but hoped it wou'd be only for a Time, since by her strong and assiduous Intercession with the Marquis, he did not in the least doubt but a Reconciliation would be made, and that he should see himself restor'd to his Honour and Estate, so unjustly detain'd from him.

The Lady was strangely alter'd in her disposition since their Marriage. For, as has been shewn, nothing at that Time seem'd more abhorrent both to her Eyes, Sighs from her heart and many endearing Expressions from her Tongue. She told him that their Separation might be attended with worse Consequences than they imagined; for she was so well acquainted with the Temper of her Brother the Marquis, that, instead of being able to claim his stormy Passions, by her soft and palliating Persuasions, she was more apprehensive, he would compel her to swear a Rape against him; which would open another Scene of Afflictions, which she should be less able to

support than those she had already suffer'd ; and therefore begg'd that she might be the Companion of his Fortune ; for she had rather bear all manner of Inconveniencies in his Company, than owe her Ease and Safety to the Sacrifice of his Life, as she was well assured, must be the Case, whenever she should deliver herself up to the Marquis.

The Captain heard her very calmly, but having resolved to get rid of her at any Rate, told her in Answer, that he saw no other Means of being reconciled to the Marquis than by her Mediation, which he was persuaded she could accomplish if she would set heartily about it ; and therefore entreated him to submit to the present Necessity of the Times, till a more favourable Opportunity should offer, for their more quiet and uninterrupted Enjoyment of each other during the Remainder of their Lives.

He said farther, that it was impossible for them to escape if they continued any longer together ; and therefore thought it a much more eligible Way for them to part, for the present, that so he might be more at Liberty to provide for his own Safety, and she have it more in her Power to work upon the Temper of her Brother, and so soften him into a Reconciliation.

With many Persuasions my Lady was at last prevail'd upon to leave the Captain, and to return home.

Where

Where she was no sooner arrived, but she receiv'd a Visit from the Marquis her Brother; who was impatient to see her, and to hear from her own Mouth, a Relation of every Thing that had pass'd between the Captain and her.

She told him, that indeed Captain *Frazer* had compell'd her to marry him contrary to her Inclination or Intention; but that ever since, he had us'd her with the utmost Tenderneſs, Affection, and Regard.

That though she could not deny but Violence had been us'd, yet that the Captain had given her ſuch unanswerable Reasons for his making ſuch a forcible Attack upon her, as had entirely convinc'd her, as had entirely convinc'd her, that nothing but the pure Neceſſity of his Affairs cou'd have induc'd him to uſe her in the rough and uncourtly Manner he did.

The Captain's View (she added) in attempting to marry my Daughter, was to regain Poſſeſſion of his paternal Honours and Eſtates, which I believe no reaſonable Man will blame me for; but being diſappointed in that, his Reſolution to carry his Point by ſome other Means, I preſume, is at leaſt excuſable; and I hope, my dear Brother, added ſhe; you will ſo far conſult my Honour as well as my future Happineſs, as to ceaſe your Proſecution of the Capt. for an Offence, which, I humbly conceive, no body but myſelf has any Reaſon to reſent; and if I forgive him, ſurely you may.—

She

She would have proceeded, but the Marquis would hear no more; but interrupting her with some Emotion, said—— ‘ And so, Madam, because the Captain has found out the Knack of pleasing your Humour, and has tickled you in the right Vein, therefore the Dishonour and Disgrace, which he has brought upon the Family, which you, if you was not blinded by another King of Passion, would as highly resent as myself, must be smooth’d over with Palliatives, and Excuses, and Reasons of Necessity,

And the same Reasons too, I suppose, must excuse his hostile Assault upon the Lord Salton and his Son. and their noble Attendants, whom he made Prisoners in your House, which he made a Goal of for the Occasion; and this he did with as little Ceremony, as if he had been at open War with that noble Lord and his whole Family.

But he assured that this Champion of yours, the thrice noble Captain, shall no sooner fall into the Hands of Justice, but I will take care that Justice shall have its due Course: And then let me see whether this raggamuffin Crew his Highland Banditti, will rescue him out of my Hands.’ And having so said, he turn’d upon his Heel, and left her to her own Reflections.

Let

Let us now return to Captain *Frazer*, whom we left parting with his Lady, and provided for the Safety of his own Person, which was in no small Danger from the Prosecution that was commenc'd against him by the Marquis. He got together as many of the *Frasers* as were willing to follow him, and retired with them into some of the remote Highlands, where he could defend himself against any Attacks of the Enemies, and so evade the Prosecutors that was now in Issue against him.

Here our Captain took up his Residence, accompanied by some of his Clan. of much the same Principles with himself. Their Manner of Life and Method of Subsistence. in those barren and wild Places, was, by wandering from Place from Place, and living sometimes in the Woods. and sometimes in the Mountains.

And as he had no Estate. Property, or Tenants, from which he might draw Relief in that wild and barren Part of the Country, he was often obliged to the Charity of the Highland Inhabitants for some of their coarse Fare; and when that fail'd, or he and his Companions had lived too long in a Place, they would make Excursions in the Night into the Lowlands, and plunder the People of their Cattle and Provisions, and carry them off to their Dens and Caverns, where they hid themselves.

In

In the mean Time, the Lady Dowager was taken from the Seat at *Castledowny*, and carried to *Dunkel*; where, by some Means or other, she was obliged to join in the Prosecution of the Captain for a Rape committed on herself.

She indeed had long since forgiven the Crime, and had promised the Captain never to promote any Prosecution against him for it, but rather to try all possible Means in her Power to have it forgotten and forgiven. But she found her Brother in quite another Disposition, but that he look'd on the Captain in quite different Light from what she saw him in. He believed him to be a Man of very bad Principles, profligate in his Life, and one who would stick at nothing to gain his Ends.

That he had already forfeited his Life to the Justice of his Country, to which he was become a Nuisance by the Villains he daily committed. And that there it was doing an Act of publick Service, to rid the Nation of a Man who had already done so much Mischief, and was daily doing more. Besides these Reasons, the Marquis had another, perhaps more prevalent than all the rest, to get the Captain dispatch'd, if possible, in a lawful Way; and that was, that as there was now an irreconcilable Enmity betwixt them, the Marquis did not know, but that the Captain might, in some fit of Revenge, take it in his Head, to work him some secret Mischief, or by some sudden and unexpected

unexpected Blow, being Destruction upon his Friends, Tenants, or Estates. To prevent all which, he order'd the Lewyers to proceed with utmost Expedition in the Prosecution against him for the Rape on the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, in the High Court of Justiciary in *Scotland*.

o Accordingly, no Time was lost, no Delays made, and though the Captain was absent, his Enemies proceeded to Trial, as they might by the Laws and Usage of his Country; and he was found guilty of and condemned for ravishing the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*. By this Sentence the pretended Marriage was vacated, tho' solemniz'd the second Time, and with the Consent of the Lady; in whose Name the Prosecution was now carried on for a Rape, and tho' a voluntary Cohabitation afterwards, might easily have been prov'd.

But tho' this Prosecution was enough, one would think, to destroy the Captain; yet this did not satisfy his Enemies, who being determin'd to do his Business effectually, set on foot another Prosecution against him, for treasonably levy War, and opposing the Execution of the Law with an armed Force: Nor that he ever came to an Action with the Forces that were sent to take him, except a few Skirmishes; for the Followers were too few, and therefore he secreted himself in Places inaccessible, where he and his Hannful of Men, could easily defend themselves against any Power,

Power, however superior to them in Number. However this withdrawing of himself, was judged by the Lawyers, as opposing the Execution of the Law; for which, when absent, he was try'd, convicted, and condemn'd as a Traitor.

The Captain and his Agents and Spies abroad, by whom he was soon inform'd of all that had been pronounced against him; he was inter-communed, or forbid all Manner of Intercourse Conversation, Correspondence, and Commerce with the rest of his Fellow Subjects, and was actually outlawed, and that Letters of Fire and Sword were issued against him; yet he still continued in the Highlands, roving about, and getting his Subsistence by Plunder and Pillage, as he had done before, or by the charitable Contributions of Persons, who were either well affected to his Cause, or out of Pity and Commiseration of his forlorn and undone Condition; tho' such Persons, who afforded him this Relief, and for aiding and corresponding with him, whom they knew to be out of the Protection of the Law, render'd themselves obnoxious to it.

Four Years did the Captain live this forlorn and miserable Life; often reduc'd to the greatest Extremities, starving with Hunger, and perishing for want of all Things; cast off and rejected by his Friends, disown'd by his Relations, in continual Apprehension of falling a Victim to the Justice of his Country, and the

Sentence of the Law, which had pass'd Judgment upon him; without the least Glympe of Hopes, or the most distant Prospect of any Change for the better. Should he offer to submit himself, acknowledge his Offences, and entreat for Pardon, he knew the Inveteracy of his Enemies was such, that he should only hasten his own Destruction by it. Thus bewild'rd, outlaw'd, and abandon'd by all Mankind, he was at his Wits End; and a long time it was before he could hit upon any sensible Method of emerging out of these almost inextricable Difficulties.

At length, in the Year 1699, a Thought came into his Head, that if he could get his deplorable Condition represented to King *William*; that his Sufferings did not proceed from any Offence committed against his Majesty or his Government, but were the Effects of the Malice of his Enemies, who sought his Destruction, because he had attempted the Recovery of his Honours and Estate which should have descended to him from his Ancestors, he might perhaps obtain his Majesty's Pardon: which if he could accomplish, it would paye out Way to get the better of his Misfortunes, and possibly by a Means of recovering his paternal Inheritance.

The more he consider'd of this Scheme, the better he lik'd it; and having resolv'd upon it, the next Thing he had to do, was to pitch upon some Person who had Interest enough with his Majesty

Majesty to ask him such a Favour. Mr. *Castairs*, a Minister of the Kirk of Scotland, had appeared very zealous for, and exerted himself with all his Power in bringing about the happy and glorious Revolution, and by the signal Services he had done on that Occasion, had recommended himself to the peculiar Regard of King *William*.

To this Gentleman Captain *Frazer* made his Application, set forth the Hardships of his Case, and entreated him to intercede with his Majesty for the Pardon of his Crimes, which were such only, as his Enemies themselves had, in a manner, compell'd him to commit, and now persecuted him with relentless Fury for having committed them; and this they did with no other View than to take away his Life, which was the only Bar to their full and quiet Possession of those Honours and Estates, which, of Right, belonged to him.

Mr. *Castairs*, who was no Stranger to the Affair, nor ignorant of Capt. *Frazer's* Quality and Misfortunes, nor the Crimes of which he had been accused and convicted; but being persuaded that the long Persecution which he had suffer'd might have had a good Effect upon him, and brought him to a Sense of his Duty, both in regard to a moral and civil Life, he promis'd him that he would use his best Endeavours with his Majesty to grant him the Pardon which he seem'd to stand in so much Need of.

No

Nor was he worse than his Word, but did actually make a true Representation of the Captain's Case to his Majesty, yet for his long Sufferings and Hardships, not not exactly to describe the Nature of the Crimes for which he had suffer'd.

His Majesty having duly weigh'd the Matter tho' he was willing to oblige Mr. *Cassair* by granting him his full Request for the Petitioner, yet, for political Reasons, he thought it necessary to limit the Grant to Part of it; that is, he pardon'd him this levying War, which was an Offence against the State, and might be construed traitorous and treasonable, because intended against the King's Commission; But as to the Rape, which was a Crime of a more private Nature, and no injury done to a particular Person and Family, he could not dispense with the Execution of the Laws made for such Cases; unless the Captain could make Satisfaction to the Person injur'd; then, indeed with the Consent of the Party, he should not refuse to sign him his Pardon in as ample a Manner as he could desire. But so long as the Family of *Abbot*, which was very numerous and powerful, continued inexorable, they were not to be disgusted, nor the Captain expect a full and plenary Pardon, till he had made them Satisfaction.

This was but cold Comfort to Captain *Fraser*, since this Pardon, but in Part, did him no real Service; because it still left him exposed to the Sentence

Sentence of the Law, which his Enemies were still at Liberty to prosecute with as much Effect as before.

Being sensible therefore that that he was in no Capacity to cope with such powerful Adversaries, and fearing that he might some Time or other fall into their Hands, and being quite weary of the Course of Life he had a great while been oblig'd to follow, he at last determin'd with himself to retire to *France*, where he was pretty sure of finding an Asylum, and where he shou'd be safe, at least from his Persecutors, from whom he had suffer'd so much, and who had oblig'd him to abandon his own Country.

Here therefore he propos'd to fix his Residence, and wait for better Times; which he had no Reason to despair of, considering the constant Rotation observable in human Affairs, and the various Vicissitudes that happen in the Course of a Man's Life.

But before we proceed to a Relation of our Captain's Adventures in *France*, it will be proper to look back a little, and see what became of the young Lady, the Daughter of the Dowager of *Alibol*.

The Reader has already been acquainted, in what Manner Capt. *Frazer* prevented the Heiress of *Lovat* from marrying with the Lord *Salton's* Son. But tho' the Marquis of *Alibol* was thus disappointed in marrying his Niece to this young Nobleman, he was determin'd she should

not be long without a Husband, in order to put it interely out of the Captain's Power, or even of his Hopes, of ever matching with that Lady.

With this View he made Overtures to Lord *Prasburgh*, then one of the Judges in the Court of Sessions in Scotland, to give his Niece in Marriage to his Lordship's Son *Alexander M'Kin-*

Both his Lordship and his Son very readily came into the Proposal, and a Marriage Settlement was, without Delay, agreed upon, drawn up, and executed; by Virtue of which Mr. *M'Kinne* was to assume and take the Title of *Frazerdale*, and the Children issuing of that Marriage were to be called by the Name of *Frazer*.

Frazerdal was settled in the Estate of *Loval* during his Life, with a Substitution of Remainder to the Heirs in that Marriage begotten. The Deeds being finish'd agreeable to the Sense of all the Parties concern'd, were executed, and the Marriage soon after solemniz'd with great Splendor and Magnificence. In due Course of Time, the Lady was deliver'd of a Son, whom they named *Hugh Frazer*, who in Right of his Mother, inherited the Honours and Title of Lord *Loval*. Besides him, they had several other Children.

Let us now return to Capt. *Frazer*, who, when we left him, was just landed in *France*. The Captain look'd upon himself as a Man of Fortune,

Fortune, and that all the World was his Country; and therefore resolv'd to attach himself to that Prince or Party, which would serve him best.

It was in the Beginning of the Year 1701, when the Captain came to the Court of *S. Germain's*, where the late unfortunate King *James* then resided.

He apply'd himself to some of the Favourites of that Prince, to whom he introduc'd himself as a Nobleman of *Scotland*, who had suffer'd from the Malice and Oppression of his Enemies, by whose Inferior Power and Author he was keyt out of his Estate, and that the Honours of his Family were assum'd by another.

Notwithstanding which he was look'd upon and regarded, among all his Countrymen the *Scots*, as the Chief of a very numerous and powerful Clan; and that among the Highlands his Interest and Influence were so great, that Multitudes would obey his Summons, and fight in whatever Cause he shou'd espouse; and that if King *James*, or his Son, should ever attempt the Conquest of *Scotland*, he wou'd enage all the Highlanders, to a Man, should be on his Side, which, he thought, would be a Service of such Importance to the King's Designs on that Kingdom, as would deserve his Majesty's Attention and Regard.

Such a Man as the Captain characteriz'd himself to be, was very much caress'd, you may be sure, or that Court; no Wonder therefore that he

he was soon admitted into their Councils, and made acquainted with their most secret Designs.

The Duke of *Perth*, who was at that Time, one of King *James's* Prime Ministers, was so charmed with his genteel Behaviour and courtly Addres, that he took him into his Confidence. And indeed our Captain knew how to play the Hypocrate so artfully on all Occasions that he was a perfect *Protestant*, and could accommodate himself to the Humour, Religion, or Principles of every Man.

The Captain was sensible, that if he expected any Place or Preferment at that Court, he must profess the Religion of the Court, and therefore to remove every Stumbling-block that might lie in the Way of his Ambition, especially that greatest of all, his Religion, he got himself introduced to the Pope's Nuncio, to acquaint his Eminence with his Intention to reconcile himself to the Church of *Rome*; that his Conscience would not suffer him to continue any longer in the Errors of the Religion he was brought up in; that he had been too long byass'd by the Prejudices of Education, but now convinc'd from Reason and Scripture, that the *Roman* was the true Catholick Faith, the same as taught by Christ and his Apostles, and was the most conformable of any now profess'd to that of the Primitive Church; and he was verily perswaded that his Holiness the Pope was the true Head of the Church upon Earth: Therefore he intreated his Eminence to intercede

cede in hi with his Holiness to admit him, a true Penitent, into the Bosom of the Church, where, only, he was now fully persuaded, Salvation was to be found.

The Nuncio, not a little proud of such a Convert, applauded his Resolution of relinquishing a Religion, wherein had he persisted, to his Death, he must have eternally perish'd both Soul and Body.

For, says he, it's plain from Scripture, that no Hereticks can be saved; and it's as plain that all are not of the Catholick Faith, are Hereticks, and consequently must be damn'd. And therefore hoping that your Conversation is sincere, proceeding from a true Conviction of the Error of your former Opinions, and a just Sense of your damnable Condition if you had died in that Persuasion, and not from any secuoer Considerations whatever, I do admit you into the Pale of your pure, holy, and catholick Church, hoping and expecting that you will remain a constant and worthy Member thereof so long as you shall live. And as an Evidence of the Sincerity of your Repentance, you must make a formal Renunciation of those Opinions which you have held in Contradiction to the Sentiments of the Church of Rome, and publickly acknowledge her's to be the only true catholick, and primitive Faith, and own the Pope to be the only Head of the Church under Christ, and the undeniable Successor of St. Peter. If you will comply with these reasonable and necessary Terms, I have a Power from his Holiness to accept of your Repentance, to absolve

you from the Guilt of all your former Sins and Errors, be they of what nature soever, and to admit you a true Member of our holy catholick Church.

The Captain readily complied with every thing the Nuncio required of him, made a publick Recantation of all his former pretended Errors, and professed himself a Member of the holy catholick Church, of which he acknowledged the Pope to be the Head. The Nuncio, being fully perswaded of the Sincerity of his Convert, heartily espoused his Interest, and zealously recommended him to the Court of St. Germain's. However, King James, who had been well informed of all the Captain's Exploits in his native Country, and for which he was obliged to leave it, would not suffer him to come into his Court during his Lifetime.

The Captain, however, did not fare much the worse for King James's refusing him any Countenance. For, since he had got the Pope's Nuncio of his Side, he could make his Appearance at the French Court, where it was not long before he was taken Notice of by the Marquis de Torcy, the great Favourite and Minister of Lewis XIV.

As the Captain was a Man of Wit and Gallantry, he soon recommended himself to the Regard of the Ladies of the French Court; and his Behaviour being always polite and becoming a Gentleman, his Female Acquaintance

was

was quickly very much enlarged, and he became the particular Favourite of all the Belles in the *French* Court, and he has been often heard to boast of *Madam de Maintenon's* rallying him, on Account of his Intimacy with the Court Ladies in such like Terms as these, *The Ladies took on you, Sir, as a most ravishing Man*; in Allusion to the Rape he had committed on the Lady Dowager of *Lovat* in *Scotland*.

Fortune having begun to smile on our Captain, he resolv'd, if possible, to keep in her good Graces; and to that Purpose studied every Method that might render him agreeable at Court, especially among the Fair, who, he knew, could do him more Service, upon Occasion, than any of his Male Acquaintance. He dress'd fashionably and agreeably; his Language was courtly, his Behaviour polite, his Wit brilliant, and his whole Carriage graceful and manly. Thus qualified, we may easily imagine that he made no mean Figure at the *French* Levees. It is certain, that he managed his Affairs so well, that he was looked upon as a Man of no little Consequence, as well at the Court of *Versailles*, as that at *St. Germain's*.

The *French* King having heard a good many Things said in Praise of Capt. *Frazer*, was desirous of seeing him, that so he might, from his own Observations, form a Judgement of the Man. And that he might have an Opportunity of fathoming his Capacity, he design'd to discourse

discourse with him about the Invasion that was intended against *Scotland*; to have his Opinion of it; and of the Means that were most sensible to render it successful.

The Marquis *de Torcy* promised to gratify his Majesty, and to bring him into his Presence. Of this he gave the Captain two or three Days previous Notice, that he might be prepar'd for the Honour which was design'd him; telling him, at the same time, that his Majesty having entertain'd a favourable Opinion of him, from the Report which he had heard of his good Sense and Understanding, would be glad to be himself a Witness of it; which it behov'd the Captain to consider with the strictest Attention, for more, perhaps, might depend upon it than he could at present imagine.

The Captain was agreeably surpriz'd with this News, when the Marquis told him of it; and requested him to present his most dutiful Respects to his Majesty, and withal how deeply sensible he was of the Honour which the King design'd him.

In the mean Time, the Captain shut himself up in his Chamber excluding every Object that might give the least Interruption to his Thoughts which he intended wholly to employ, in considering in what manner his behaviour would appear with the greatest Propriety in the Eyes of his Most Christian Majesty, when he should be called to his Audience. And that nothing might be wanting to set him of to the best Advantage

vantage, he studied a long Speech, which he dress'd up in the most elegant Language, and embellish'd with all the Ordament of Rhetorick he was Master of; wrote it down, and got it by Heart.

At length the Time appointed for his private Audience being come, the Marquis introduced his Friend the Captain into the King's Closet. But on his Entrance, he was so struck with the Magnificence and Splendor of the Place, the Grandure of the court, and the Majestick Appearance of the grand Monarch, that he stood awile, like one stupified, and had absolutely forgot the Harangue which he had been at so much Pains in preparing for that Occasion. He did not however, remain long in this Confusion, but collecting his scatter'd Thoughts into some Composure, he address'd the King in an *extempore* Speech, which he deliver'd with a good Grace, in a polite Style, and an easy unaffected Manner, and very *opropos*. After which a short Conversation pass'd between them, and then the Captain withdrew. When he was gone, the Marquis could not forbear laughing; which the Kings observing, ask'd him what it was that he had excited his Mirth? Upon which the Marquis told his Majesty of the long Speech which Captain had been labouring, ever since he acquainted him that his Majesty intended to honour him with an Audience; and that he was so startled and confounded, at his first Entrance, with the Grandeur and Magnificence of the Objects.

jects that were presented to his wondering Eyes, that he quite forgot his Harangue that he had bestowed so much Labour upon. The King, upon hearing this was no less diverted then the Marquis, and they were both very merry upon the Occasion: However, the king said, that his behaviour shew'd him to be a man of ready Wit and natural Elocution.

King *James II.* died *November 6. 1701.* He was a Prince unfortunate indeed, but his Misfortunes proceeded rather from his Bigotry to his Religion, than from Ignorance of the Art of Government. For, as one has observ'd if he had been a Protestant, or his Subjects Catholicks, no King could have reign'd more happily than he might; but as the Reverse was his Fortune, But as every body is acquainted with the History of those Times, and the Causes that produc'd the Revolution, I shall proceed no farther in it but return to the Court of *St. Germans.*

Various Revolution in a court wenerally follow the Death of a King. Old Favourites, who have had for many Years, the Confidence of the Royal Ear, must give Place to others, whose Services or Friendship, or Interest have recommended to the Regar'd of the next reigning Prince. Old Courtiers, who have followed the royal Master's Fortune all their Days, must be content to see others prefer'd before them in the new Government. Nor is it strange that a Court should be divided into Parties and Factions on the Death of a Prince, because
his

his Successor must have Favourits of his own to promote and those old Servants, who have not Interest enough to keep their Posts, but are forced to resign'd'em, murmur and are discontented, that their long and tried Services should be so easily forgot. This raises ill Blood among the Courtiers, and each strive to trip up the other Heels, and to lessen one anothers Merits in the Opinion of the succeeding Prince.

Thus it was at the Death of King *James*; the Court was divided into two Factions, one of which own'd the Duke of *Perth* for its Head, and the other the Earl of *Middleton*. They were both equally zealous in the Service of their new Master, the young Pretender, but each of them wanted the sole direction and Management of his Affairs, as each of them thought himself as capable of it as the other; and as the Chevalier was then above twelve or thirteen Years of Age, they paid little Regard to any Remonstrances that he might make against the Hears and Animosities which he observed between them: For they kept no Measure with one another, but each thwarted and exposed the other's Designs, representing them as entirely contrary to the true Interest of the common Cause. By which Means they brought themselves and their Party into Contempt, and became the Subject of Ridicule to every Man of Common Sense; for nothing was long a Secret with them; and their Views and Designs were exposed to the whole World, before they could be put in Practice;

Practice; which brought such a Slur upon the Character of that Court, and the *Jacobites* were such notorious Tatlers, that no Man of Common Sense, would trust them with any Affairs however important to their common Interest.

Capt. *Frazier*, upon the Nuncio's Recommendation, as has been before hintewd, Occasions, appeared very zealous in in his Cause. and as the Captain had been pretty early acquainted with adversity, had seen a good deal of the World, and by Experience knew how to avail himself of the various Tempers and Dispositions of Mankind, he kept in with both Parties, without appearing violently antach'd to either, and at the same Time in his secret Thoughts, despis'd them both.

But, as *France* had espous'd the Pretender's Cause, it was the Captain's Business to seem (at least) as hearty as the rest of his Partizans, and to act as vigorously for his young Master as the Nature of the Service would allow. This, he knew, would be the most effectual Way he could take to render himself acceptable to the *French* Court; where he hop'd to reap great Advantages than ever he expected in the Court of *St. Germans*.

The Councils of the Pretender were at this Time very much divided, with respect to the Measures advis'd to be pursued to restore him to his Father's Throne, which had been declared vacant by his Abdication. Various were the Methods

Methods propos'd for this End; but after Consultations, the Opinions of all the Council, seem'd to center in this, Than an Invasion of *Scotland* was the first Thing to be taken in Hand; to facilitate which, and to render the Attempt Incessful, it was necessary to stir up an Insurrection in the Highlands.

This being agreed upon, the next Subject of Debate was, a proper Person to be sent to *Scotland*, to sound the Chiefs of the Clans, to raise their Spirits with large Promises from the *French Court*, and by any Means prepare them to join the Invasion which was shortly intended to be made on that Part of the Kingdom.

Several Persons were propos'd for the Service, but none thought so well qualified for it as our Capt *Frazer*. He accordingly was pitch'd upon and was honour'd with a Major General's Commission (tho' some will have it, that it was no more than a Colonel's of Foot) and furnish'd with Powers and Credentials to treat with the Nobility and Gentry in *Scotland*, who were inclin'd to favour that Interest, and to come into the Measures that were propos'd to make a Descent on that Part of the Kingdom. He was likewise to consult with the Chiefs of the Clans, on whom was the Pretender's greatest Dependence. But his Powers and Credentials to treat with them, would have stood him in but little Stead, if he had not, besides, carried a good Quantity of Arms and Ammunition, and a round Sum of Money to distribute among them;

this was more forcible than all the Captain's Rhetorick. This the Court of *France* was very sensible of, and furnish'd him accordingly.

Capt. *Frazer* having received his Instructions, and being authorized and provided with sufficient credentials, set out from *Paris*, on his Embassy to the Highlands of *Scotland*. But the Ministry at *St. Germain's* were too well acquainted with the Captain's character, to rely wholly upon his Integrity in this Affair; and therefore, under the specious Pretence of augmenting the Grandeur of his Retinue, they gave him two Gentlemen to bear him Company, but who had private Orders to take a particular Cognizance of the Captain's Behaviour and Conduct, to be a Check upon him, and to take Notice in what Manner he executed the Trust that was repos'd in him. With these Gentlemen, and others in his Retinue, he set out for *Dunkirk*, where he embarked, set sail directly, and arrived in *Scotland* about the Year 1702.

It will be necessary, in order to give the Reader, a clear and distinct Idea of this Affair, to lay before him what has been said upon the Subject by the Historians of those Times, especially so much of it as relates to the Part which Captain *Frazer* acted in it. Mr. *Lockhart*, of *Carnwarth*, the strongest Advocate the *Jacobites* could ever boast of, in his Memoirs, takes a abundance of Pains, to persuade his Readers,

ders, that this pretended Invasion, was no other than a Sham-plot, a Contrivance of the Duke of *Queensbury* and his Party, and charged upon the Marquis of *Atbol* and the Tories, with a View to ruin and oppress them, under Pretence that they countenanced and encouraged a *French* Invasion upon *Scalland*; to which Purpose he gives the following Account of that Matter.

The Court Party pitched upon *Simon Fraser* of *Beaufort* as the Tool to carry on this wicked Design, and be an Evidence to charge such Persons as they directed: This Gentleman, some three or four Years before, had been guilty of a most scandalous Rape upon the Person of the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, Sister to the Duke of *Atbol*, for which Crimes the Lords of Justiciary condemned him to die, and Letters of Fire and Sword were raised, and a Detachment of King *William's* Troops sent against him and his Adherents, who were pretty numerous; betwixt them several Skirmishes happened, but finding the Duke of *Argyle*, who was his great Patron, (for no Reason that I know of, but because he had been guilty of a vile, lewd and detestable Crime, and likewise upon the Person of one of the Family of *Atbol*, which two Houses bore each other a constant Grudge :) I say, *Fraser* finding *Argyle* was no longer able to protect him against the Force of Law and Justice, quitted the Kingdom, and retired to *France*; but King *James* having

Having got an Account of the Crimes he was found guilty of for which he had left his native Country, would not, during his Life, allow him to come to the Court of St. Germain's. This Person being made Choice of, as well qualified for such a Design, was sent for from France to England, and afterwards brought from thence to Scotland; but before he left France, by the Advice of his Friends at Home, he turned Papist; and finding a Way to be introduced to the French King by the Pope's Nuncio, he represented himself as a Person of great Interest in Scotland, and oppressed for his Zeal to the Royal Family, and that with Encouragement, and a small Assistance, he could contribute to make a great Diversion to the English Army, and much promote the Royal Interest; and for that End proposed that his most Christian Majesty would furnish him with two or three hundred Men, and a good Sum of Money to take along with him to Scotland, where he perform Wonders: But the French King, unwilling to hazard his Men and Money, without a further Security, and more Probability than his Assertion gave him a fair Answer, desiring him to go to Scotland, and bring him some Credentials from those Persons over whom he pretended so much Power, which he agreed to, and got for that Purpose a little Money, and by the French Interest such Credit at St. Germain's, as to obtain a Commission from King James (meaning the Pretender) to be a Major General,

General, with a Power to raise and command Forces in his Behalf, which was the main Thing he aimed at.

But at the same Time Captain *John Murray*, Brother to Mr. *Murray* of *Abercarnie*, and Capt. *James Murray*, Brother to Sir *David Murray* of *Stenhope*, were likewise under the Protection of Queen *Ann's* Indemnity, sent over to *Scotland* to be a Check upon him, and bring Intelligence how they found the Tempers of the People, and their Inclination towards King *James*. Thus provided, *Frazer* arrived in *England*; and on the Borders of *Scotland* was met by the Duke of *Argyle*, and by him conducted to *Edinburgh*, where he was kept private, and being fully instructed what he was to do, the Duke of *Queensbury* gave him a Pass, to secure him from being apprehended, in obedience to the Letters of Fire and Sword emitted against him: And now he goes to the Highlands, introduces himself to the Company of all that he knew well affected to King *James*, and his Interest there, produces his Major General's Commission, as a Testificate of the Trust reposed in him, and proposing their rising in Arms, and signifying the same under their Hands, that the King might know assuredly who they were, and what Numbers he had to trust to, and regulate his Affairs accordingly; some were so far seduced, as to assure him they were ready to serve the King, though I believe there was none did it in the Terms he proposed, but generally there were
few

few that did not regret the King's reposing any Trust in a Person of so bad a Character, and fearing he would betray them, refused to treat or come to Particulars with him. After he had trafficked here and there through the Highlands with small Success, when the Parliament was adjourned, he went to *London* to consider of what further Use he might be to his Constituents, (tho' the *primum mobile* and his Patron the Duke of *Argyle* was now dead) to continue in their Service; and they finding that he had made but a small Progress, and could not as yet fix any Thing at the Doors of these Persons against whom they levelled, resolved to send him again to *France*, to demand Letters and further Encouragement to the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Arbol*, and Earl of *Seafield* and *Cromarty* and the Cavaliers; and for that End the Duke of *Queensbury* procured him, and two others with him, a Pass from the Earl of *Nottingham* Secretary of *England*, under borrowed Names.

- If he went upon a good Design, as the Duke of *Queensbury* afterwards alledged, why needed he have made their Persons and Business such a Secret to the Queen's Secretary, as he must know neither? But before *Frazer* reached *Paris*, and had executed his black Design, it came to Light in great Measure; for the famous Mr. *Ferguson* soon discovered, and consequently defeated the Project, when it was yet but in Embryo; for *Frazer*, whilst he was in *London*, ha-
ving

ving address'd himself to him, and one Mr. *William Keith* (a great Dependence upon the Duke of *Atbol*,) he acquainted him with the pretended Design and Project for King *James*, and mightily press'd *Keith*, that he would use his Endeavours to persuade the Duke of *Atbol* to forgive him, and allow him Access to his Grace, since he was heartily sorry for the Crime he had committed, and was promoting so good a Design: But *Keith* (though he plaid the Fool, and dipp'd deep enough with him in all other Points) told him, that was what he could not presume to propose, and what he knew the Duke of *Atbol* would never grant. But *Ferguson*, an old experienc'd Plotter, understanding his Character, suspected his Integrity, and it coming to his Knowledge, that he knew the Duke of *Atbol* was often privately with the *Scots* Courtiers, was by them supported, and had a Pass, as above related, soon concluded that there was some bad Design in Hand, and thereupon gave the Duke of *Atbol* Notice of it: And he again having enquired at the Earl of *Nottingham's*, and finding *Ferguson's* Informations to be good, and his Suspicion to be well grounded, acquaints Queen *Anne* of the whole Procedure, accusing the Duke of *Quesburn* in particular, and his other Friends and Partizans, of corresponding with and protecting a Person outlawed in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and guilty of the most horrid Crimes, and a Trafficker with *France*: Thereupon the Duke

Duke of *Queensbury*, to vindicate himself, declared, that *Frazer*, when he came to *Scotland*, wrote to him, that he could make great Discoveries for the Queen's Service, that upon that Account he had sent for him, given him a Protection in *Scotland*, and again procured him a Pass in *England*, with a Design he should go to *France*, and make a clearer Discovery, which he did not doubt he would have performed, had not the Matter come too soon to Light; and as a convincing Proof thereof, he produces a Letter from the Queen Mother, directed to *E. M.* which he interpreted the Lord *Murray* (formerly the Title of the Duke of *Arbol* before his Father died.) But his Grace made use of such solid Arguments and convincing Proofs to shew the Fallacy of that Letter, that Queen *Anne* herself could not deny, but that she thought it not genuine.

Now let an impartial Judge consider, if it is possible that *Frazer*, with whom no honest Man in *Scotland* would converse, who was under Sentence of Death, and not such a Fool as to imagine, that he had Interest to do any Thing of Moment for King *James* Service, could have had the Impudence to address the French King in such Terms as he did, and come over to *Scotland*, unless he had been put upon it and protected by such as could support him at home. If he proposed to cheat the French King of a little Money, why came he to *Scotland* with it, since he knew he could
not

not fail, in Time, to be discovered, and then could neither hope to be protected there, or dare return to *France*? These I say, and many other shewed Presumptions, make it clear what was the Design of this pretended Plot, and if successful, how dismal the Consequences of it must have proved, viz. the Destruction of those who opposed the Designs of the *Scots* Courtiers and *English* Ministry against *Scotland*; how happy it was in being render'd abortive, before the design'd Conception had come to full Maturity; and how odious the Thoughts of such a hellish Conspiracy, and Abettors thereof ought to be in the Eyes of all good Men.

But Mr. *Lockhart* does not rest the Matter here, but goes on, and gives this further Account, that one *David Bailey* of *Jerviswood* accused the Duke of *Queensbury* of attempting to suborn him, by a false Testimony, to prove such Things as he (the Duke) should alledge against the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Atbol*, and others he named to him.

But whoever put *Bailey* upon making this scandalous Attrack upon the Duke of *Queensbury*'s Character, or whatever Grounds he had for it, this is certain, that when he laid the Accusation before the *Scots* Privy Council, he was not able to make it good by any Proof, Witness, or Circumstance whatever, besides his own Allegation. Upon which he was taken into Custody, and a Prosecution or-

dered to be commenc'd against him for wilful and corrupt Perjury ; and for raising false and scandalous Reports against a noble Peer of this Realm, and one of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council. For this he was tried and convicted, and sentenc'd to be pillory'd, and then sent into Banishment.

Mr. *Lockhart's* Opinion of this Affair is, that that it was all meer Invention of *Bailey*, a Counterplot of his own framing, to bring Disgrace upon the Duke of *Queensbury*; and yet he declares that it was his firm Persuasion, that his Grace was actually embark'd in the Plot with *Capt. Fraser*.

Mr. *Lockhart* observes further, that the House of Lords in *England* being inform'd in what Manner his Grace was treated in *Scotland*, how his Enemies were endeavouring to work his Ruin by palming Sham plots upon him, and that the Tories were setting every Engine at work to bring him into Disgrace, came to a Resolution to take him under their Protection. Accordingly, a Committee of seven Lords were appointed, who were to enquire into the Grounds of the pretended Plot, and strictly examine every Evidence and Circumstance relating thereto, and to report the same to the House.

But Mr. *Lockhart* is not the only Writer that treats of this Affair; another Author of the same Nation, and of the same Party, undertakes to set this Matter in a true Light, and in

so doing, gives it a quite another Turn. He says, that the Duke of *Atbol*, and those of his Party, tho' they were Tories, and might oppose the Measures of the Ministry, yet that they ought not therefore to be deem'd disaffected, or be rank'd with the *Jacobites*, whose Principles, every body knew, were level'd against the Government then subsisting; and further, that he is entirely of Opinion, that there was a most dangerous Conspiracy form'd, was then, and had for some Time, been carrying on for the Subversion of the Government:

But that he can never be persuaded, that there is no Truth or Foundation for what had been asserted in relation to the Plot as charged in Gross, by Captain *Frazer*, and others, upon the Country (or Tory) Party: *That Charge, he thinks, to have been a Design of the Courts of France and St. Germain's, in order to blast the Reputation of those who insisted upon such Conditions of Government as might prevent the Return of Popery and arbitrary Sway.*

A good deal of Allowance, however, must be given to these Authors, with regard to their Varacity; since nothing is more common than for Party-writers to extenuate the Faults of those of their own Side of the Question, and to aggravate, beyond their true Magnitude, those of the opposite. As to these Gentlemen, if we compare the Account they give of this Affair in one Part of their Writings, with
what

what they say of it in another, we shall find a great Variation of their own Assertions. Mr. Lockhart's Book, in particular, is a Proof of this; for from several Passages in it, it is sufficiently evident, if we believe him, that those very Men, chargee with the Plot, whom before he was pleased to call true Patriots, and who, he says, ought to be distinguished from *Jacobites*, were no other than rank *Jacobites*, whom he is so far from disowning, that he is proud of being enlisted in their Number, and seems mightily pleas'd, that they had express'd a-bundance of Zeal and Activity in the Attempt that had been made for restoring the Pretender, whom he calls by the Name of King James.

This Conduct therefore of that Party, is a plain Demonstration, that their disowning the Plot, was only a Subterfuge which they made use of the better to cover their pernicious Designs, and which might serve as a Protection for them from the Resentment of that Government, which they were endeavouring, by all possible Contrivances, to destroy and bring into Confusion.

Else, to what End or Purpose should they decry and disclaim the Actions and Proceedings of that very Party whose very Principles they adopted and acknowledged for their own? If they acted upon the Square, and like honest Men, they would avow the Practices as well as the Opinions of the Party they had espous'd
and

and enlisted themselves to serve. Besides, what Dependance can we have on their Relation of Facts, which any way affect the Cause they are engag'd in, when the plain Truth will rather hurt than serve them? But 'tis Time we return to Captain *Frazer*.

It has been before intimated, that Captain *Frazer* was sent over from the Court of St. *Germain*, entrusted with a Commission, to Scotland, in order to sound the Chief of the Highlanders, and to promote an Insurrection among them, in Favour of an Invasion which was intended by the *French* King, in Aid of his pretended Nephew the Chevalier. How well the Captain acquitted himself of that Commission, we shall now relate.

Captain *Frazer*, on his Arrival in Scotland, summon'd the Heads of the Clans together, and acquainted them with the Orders and Instructions he had receiv'd from the Court of St. *Germain*'s; inform'd them of the great Armament and Forces that had been a considerable Time in preparing by his most Christian Majesty, and were just ready to be sent over to Scotland, to recover the *British* Dominions for his Nephew *K. J.* to whom of Right they belonged, and who hoped he should meet with the Concurrence and Assistance of all his liege Subjects; and that tho' his Majesty doubted not of their Affection and Loyalty, yet he was willing to know who were his Friends, what Forces they could raise to join him,

him, and how far he might depend upon their Assistance; as likewise to take their Advice in what Manner his generous Designs could best be accomplish'd.

It was very unfortunate for the Captain, as well as prejudicial to the Commission with which he was entrusted, that his Character was well known to all the Gentlemen in that Country. Nor did his Rank or Quality, to which he had been raised by the *French* King, nor the Trust and Confidence reposed in him by the Pretender, avail him any-thing. They were all so prejudic'd against him, that few or none would confer or consult with him on the Business he came about.

So that his Negotiations met with but very little Success; for his old Enemies in the North renewed their Clamours, and by their frequent Declarations of the Crimes of which he had been formerly accus'd and convicted, propos'd the People with an Opinion, that either he had assumed a Character which he was not legally invested with, and so was not sufficiently authoriz'd to treat with them; or that supposing his Commission was undeniable, yet the infamous Actions he had been guilty of, wou'd excuse them from treating with him upon an Affair of such Importance.

Thus all the Captain's Endeavours, to serve his young Master at *St. Germain's*, were render'd ineffectual; the Insinuations that were everywhere propagated to his Disadvantage, prevented

vented the Success he hop'd for and had promis'd his Patron the *French* King, before he left *Versailles*; and being quite discouraged by the constant opposition he met with, was forc'd, at last, to abandon the Enterprize; and accordingly he left the Country, and set out for *London*.

But in order to elucidate this Affair of the Plot, in which Captain *Frazer* has been charged with acting a double Part, it will be necessary before we pursue the Thread of this History, to give a short Account of what happen'd, in relation thereto, in the *Scots* Privy-Council, and the House of Lords in *England*.

The Duke of *Athol* being sensible how much he was struck in at this Plot, and how nearly it concern'd him to have it stifled in its Birth, besought the Queen to summon a *Scots* Privy-Council. The Queen comply'd with his Request, and the Council being met, his Grace laid before them a long Memorial, setting forth that the Duke of *Queensbury* and his Agents had secretly corresponded with Captain *Frazer*, and that it was evident, even to a Demonstration, that the Invasion of the Kingdom by a foreign Force, was not the Thing intended, but that *there was another most wicked Contrivance, to bring several of her Majesty's good Subjects and Servants into a Plot, in order to ruin them and their Families.*

Nor was this all; his Memorial went on to charge the Duke of *Queensbury*, 1st. That he had

had had a Meeting with Capt. *Frazer* in *Scotland*, and had employ'd him to that very Purpose, and for his Aid and Encouragement in pursuing it, had advanced him 200 Guinear, altho' by the Laws of *Scotland* it was Treason so much as to converse with him, as he had been convicted of Capital Offences, for which he had fled from his Country, and was become an Outlaw. 2dly, That he had given his Protection, and granted his Pass to a Man who was a known Rebel, and was come to *Scotland* on purpose to spirit up an Insurrection among her Majesty's Subjects. 3dly, That he had privately sent Capt. *Frazer* and three other Persons in o *France*, tho' it was well known, that *Frazer* was employ'd as an Agent by the *French King* to facilitate the Invasion intended against *Scotland*.

The Evidence to support this Charge against the Duke of *Queensbury*, was chiefly *Ferguson*; but he being afterwards examined by the House of Lords, they voted his Evidence false and scandalous, and sent him to *Newgate*; and directed the Attorney General to prosecute him.

The House of Lords having taken this Affair under Consideration, and examined Sir *John M'Lean* as to what he knew of it, he confessed, that in *July 1702*, he was at the Court of *St. Germain*, and introduced Captain *Frazer* to the Queen of the late King *James*; that he heard the Captain tell her Majesty, that the Heads of the Clans in *Scotland* were ready

ready to raise in Favour of the Prince her Son, and would bring 10,000 Men in the Field; that the *French* King was immediately made acquainted with the Captain's Information, and that his Majesty promis'd to assist them with Men, Money and Arms; but, in the first Place, judged it highly necessary, that the Captain should go to *Scotland*, and inform himself exactly of the Inclinations of the People, what Numbers they could really raise to join the Army which he intended to send to their Assistance, with Orders that he should return to *France* soon after the *British* Parliament broke up.

The Duke of *Queensbury*, in his Defence, declared, that his Knowledge of Captain *Fraser* was merely accidental; that the Captain was brought to him by the Duke of *Argyle*, who desired a Pass for him to carry him into the Highlands, which he accordingly gave him; that when the Captain returned from the Highlands, he informed him of those Things which, in Substance, had been declared by Sir *John M'Lean*, and had acquainted the Queen with it, but had it, but had not discovered the Captain's Name, having given him his solemn Promise not to do it; that the Captain was, indeed, gone to *France*, but had laid himself under a strict Engagement to send him a particular Account of all the Schemes and Designs which the *French* might undertake against *Scotland*, and had promised to return to

England, so soon as he could make himself Master of their Projects; or whenever his Grace should send for him.

But let us now proceed to our Narrative. Captain *Frazer*, as has been already observed, met with but very little Success in his Negotiations in the Highlands, and finding he could do no Service to the Cause he had embark'd in, he determin'd to go back to *France*. To which End he repairs privately to the Duke of *Queensbury*, entreating his Protection, and pray'd his Grace to procure him a Pass to *France*; and in order to prevail on his Grace to grant him the Favour, he made a Discovery of the Plot that was then forming a Favour of the Pretender.

The Captain, however strenuously asserted, when charged with it, that he disclos'd nothing to his Grace, but what he might easily have known before, from the Indiscretion or Malice of the *Jacobites*, who kept nothing secret.

He likewise protested, that it was never his Intention, whatever he might, to serve his Purpose, at that time promise, to return to *France*, with a Design to make a fuller Discovery of the Measures taken by *France* in the Pretender's Affairs: But allows, that the Duke of *Queensbury* and he, had enter'd into a mutual Agreement, that if Success should attend the intended Invasion, and a Revolution should happen in Favour of the Pretender, than then the

Captain

Captain was to use his best Endeavours for the Interest of the Duke and his Family ; but if, on the other Hand, the Enterprize that the *Jacobites* were then engag'd in, should fail of Success, and their Schemes be frustrated, that in that Case, his Grace should interpose in his Favour, and use his best Interest to befriend him ; and that the principal View, as well of his Grace, as of himself, of their meeting at that Time, was to consult for their mutual Safety and Preservation, let what ever might happen.

But whatever were their Consultation or Agreements, the Captain obtain'd a Pass, and return'd to *France*. Upon his Arrival at *St. Germain*, he waited on the Duke of *Milford*, and made a Report of his Negotiations in *Scotland*, whom he looked upon as his Patron, and by whose Interest he expected great Promotion.

The Captain also went to *Versailles*, where he also made his Court very exact to the great *Monf. Corbett*, otherwise, the *Marquis de Torcy*, prime Minister to the *French* King, *Lewis le Grand*, who gave him a favourable Reception, and was often in the Closet with his Secretary *Monf. Pequet*, a Man of great Abilities and Skill in Politicks. He also ingratiated himself with the Chancellor and the *Guard du Sceau*, and went sometimes to the other, where he was well received, until a Letter was intercepted that he had written to a Friend, wherein
were

were some Reflections and Satyr upon the late King *James's* Politicks; upon which his great Patron the Duke, sent for him, and producing to him the Letter, the Captain frankly confess'd that he sent it, and the Duke, after a Reprimand in a very obliging Manner, told him, that he was very sorry he should turn his Genius that Way, and hoped he should never hear any more of those Things coming from him; and observing how easily he was to have those original Papers in Being, he tore them, and threw 'em into the Fire before the Captain's Face, who was so sensibly touch'd by that Demonstration of his Goodness. that in the Transport he would have kiss'd his Hands; when my Lord, to compleate his Favours, courteously embraced the Captain; which Excess of Generosity mov'd his Heart, and welted him into Tears, more than the most deplorable Discourse could have done, and made him resolve to devote himself to so generous and sincere a Patron; yet such was the fate of the Captain, that Letters from *England*, directed to him, were so artfully sent, as to fall into the Hands of the Lord *Moncafell*, a great Favourite at the Court of *St. Germans*, who sent for him, and sent for him, and in a very vild Manner deliver'd it to him to him to read, fixing his Eyes on the Captain's, and then said, *Well, Sir, what do you say to that?* He reply'd, *The Gentleman who sent this Letter designs my Ruin, and it is intendedly convey'd into*
your

your Hands to be the Instrumēt of his Revenge: But what, my Lord, (said the Captain) do you think of it yourself, should I presume to ask you, if I were so unfortunate as to see you taken in the same Snare that is laid for me? His Lordship reply'd, that if he had thought him guilty, he would have been in Custody before now; though my Lord of Milford hath already answered for you to the King, it is requisite to convince me, if you wou'd have me also make it out to the King: Lo not go about to palliate any thing, but answer me truly. Then he examin'd him with much Sedateness and Temper, and was fully convinced of his Innocence; and then promis'd to be his Friend, and to protect him against all his Enemies; and promised to employ him some secret Affairs; yet notwithstanding such Favourt, the Captain continued to carry on a Correspondence in *England*, and to discover the Negotiations of the *French* Court, and was very diligent to wait on the Levee of my Lord, in Expectation of great Favour, and by whom he was always favourably entertain'd; but on Sunday he met him coming from the Council, and made use of that Opportunity to attend him from the King to his own Apartment, who gave him a dreadful Look, and ask'd him *what he would have?* and dismiss'd him with a Loftiness that affected the Captain; who was conscious of his own Deceitfulness, and if he had been prudent, would have taken the proper

per Hint to have quitted the Court at once, and retired, to avoid those Misfortunes that afterwards happened to him in *France*; however, he went to his great Patron the Duke that Moment, whom he found in his Closet near the Withdrawing-room, beset by a vast Throng of Quality, he was hemm'd in by Lukes, Blue Ribbons, Chevaliers of St. Lewis, Marshals, Generals, Colonels, and a Battalion might have been formed of Captains and other Officers, who strove to come near him, yet the Captain got into his Closet against the Will of his *Vallet*, who would have persuaded him to go out; for those who are acquainted with Court-Affairs, know that the Minister's Closet is a sort of Sanctuary, into which none are admitted but such as come from the King, or are brought in by the Minister's particular Order; for, were it otherwise, he would be tired to Death, and have no Leisure to attend Affairs of the greatest Consequence.

The Duke seeing him in a Fringht, ask'd the Occasion of it, which he told him as briefly as possible; the Duke told him he could not secure him from Fear, but that he against the Harm he apprehended, that he would see my Lord the next Day; and added, that his receiving him in that Manner, proceeded from a Multiplicity of Business.

The next Day the Captain waited on him as he came from the Council; he 'spy'd him through

through Legions of Courtiers, and made a Sign with his Hand that he would speak to him, but Monsierr the Valet would not permit him to go into the Cloſet, as he had done the Day before, ſo that he was forced to wait in the Withdrawing-room, 'till on a ſudden the Door was ſhut, and the Company was diſperſing, when the Captain ſcratching at the Door, one of his Secretaries opened it, and told him, *that tho' his Life lay at Stake, he could not let him in, unleſs he came from the King; but adviſed him to wait in the Gallery, through which he was to paſs, to go to Dinner: But it ſo happened, that his Lordſhip went another Way, and the Captain loſt an Opportunity of ſeeing him that Day.*

The Captain went to Bed that Night, and ſept very well, when about Four o'clock in the Morning, there was a Knocking at his Chamber Door, by ſome-body whom he ſuppoſed to be ſome Friend, and getting up in his Night-gown, opened the Door, where, to his great Surprize, inſtead of his Friend, he ſaw an *Exempt* of the Provost of the Houſhold, like a Meſſenger of State, with three of his Guards.

The firſt held out the End of his Rod, and ſaid to him, I arreſt you, in the King's Name, do not ſtir; and then ſhew'd him the Lettre de Cache, or *French* King's Order; to which he anſwer'd, Certainly you are miſtaken. I am not a *Frenchman*, I belong to the Court of
St.

St. Germain's, my Name is *Frazer*. One of the Guards who spoke *English*, told him that he was the Person they were in search after, and order'd him to be quick and dress himself, but first deliver to them all his Papers and Arms, if he had any; which being comply'd with, whilst the Captain was dressing himself, he was very inquisitive to know what was that he was arrested for, and by whose Means; and desired that he might send for Bail; upon which the Messenger smiled, and said, they were sworn not to discover any-thing, it was sufficient they had an *Ordre du Roy*; that it was not in *France* as in *England*, where they had an *Habeas Corpus Act*, for all People resident in *France* must be subordinate to the absolute Will and Pleasure of that Great Monarch.

The Arms, consisting of a Pair of Pistols, a Sword, *Cutteau de Chasse*, and Carbine, were delivered to one of the Men, whilst the Officers wrapt up his Papers in two Napkins, which he sealed with his own and the Captain's Seal, and after having sewed up the Napkins, he sent them to Monsieur *D'Argenson*, the then *Lieutenant of the Police*, who is chief Magistrate of *Paris*, and Judge to try State Prisoners.

However, the Captain pull'd up his Courage, and asked the Exempt if he had breakfasted: who said, No; he called for Bread and Wine, whereof they drank each a Couple of Glasses, whilst his Landlady and Maid wept bitterly.

bitterly. The officer advised him to take some Books to divert him, and caused one of his Men to take his Gown, Night-cap and Slippers, which made the Captain ask whether he was to lie any Time in the Prison he was going to carry him to; he said, he could not tell, and so they went down Stairs, where were two Coaches, with other Men in them; and after they had settled themselves, the Officer order'd the Coachman to drive on, without mentioning the Place; in this Dilemma, the Captain desired the Officer to grant him two Favours; the one, to permit him to write to the Duke; the other, to call in *Rue St. Jaques*, for a Trunk with some Cloaths in it. As for Cloaths, said the Officer, you will have no Need of them, for I know you will not stay long in the Place I am carrying you to; as for your Letters, you may writethem when we shall be put down; and gave his Word that he would deliver the Letter to my Lord himself, and not trust it with any Servant.

The Captain assured him, that if he thought himself guilty of any Offence against the Court of *Versailles* or *St. Germain*, and either of the Kings had order'd him to surrender, he would have obey'd their Commands without the Concurrence of any of their Officers. He very much press'd to know what Minister caused him to be seized in this Manner, but could have no Answer; the Officer only amused him with telling him, he was educated as a Gentle-

man, and that Necessity and Persuasions of his Friends had induced him to fall into that Employ of an Officer, and that it was with the greatest Reluctance that he took the *Lettre de Cachette* for securing him, when he happened the Day before to be in the Closet at my Lord's; by which the Captain perceiv'd, that the Order had been sign'd some Days, and imagin'd that the Sign my Lord had made to him the Day before, was, in all Likelihood, to intimate the same, but his unhappy Fate would not permit of it.

As they went along, the Captain discoursed the Officer with the same Freedom as if he had been carrying him to some Merry-Meeting; and observing on his Men's great Coats a Badge all full of Points, with this Device, *Monstrorum Terror, The Terror of Monsters*, he said wittily, pointed to the Mee, *Behold there the Terror, and here the Monster*, meaning himself; if either of the Kings had a Hundred thousand of such, they would be fitter to fright their Enemies, than to hurt any of them.

He took Occasion to let him know of what great and ancient Family he was of in Scotland, and the Blood that had been spilt of his Ancestors for the Cause.

At length they arrived on the *Pont Neuf*, when it was exactly the eleventh Hour by the *Samaritan* Clock; and so they passed by the *Grave* (the Place where all the Executions are done

done in *Paris*) till they came near the *Port St. Anthony*, and all of a sudden the Coach stopp'd at the Gates of

The BASTILLE.

Before we proceed farther in the Captain's Adventures, it may not be amiss to describe that Place, so famous, and so much dreaded, not only by the *French*, but even by Strangers, with the Officers belonging to it, which these *Jacobites* would introduce into this free Nation.

It was formerly one of the Gates of *Paris*, that led to the Suburbs of *St. Anthony*, but *Hugh D'Aubriot*, a *Burgundian*, who by the Favour of the Duke of *Burgundy* advanced considerably at the *French* Court, where he had the Charge of the Revenue, and was Provost of the Merchants of *Paris*, changed it into a *Bastille* or Fortress, the Foundation whereof he laid, as *Mezeray* describes, in the Year 1369.

And what is more remarkable, when he had finished that enormous Structure, he was the first that was shut up in it; for, as the Suit of the Clergy he was adjudged to end his Days between four Walls, for Impiety and Heresy, and for having been a cruel Enemy to the University.

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The *Bastille* is situated on the Left Hand of the River *Seine*, in the City of *Paris*, next to the Arsenal; the Entrance into it from *St. Antony's* Street is at a great Gate, which has an advanced *Corps de Garde*, a Drawbridge, and another great Gate that leads to the Governor's House (a modern pretty Building, well furnished with Tapestry and other Furniture, which is parted the Bottom of the *Bastille*, consisting of eight high Towers and Intervals) by a broad Ditch, over which is also another Drawbridge, and a strong great Gate leads to another *Corps de Garde*, where the Officers and Soldiers are to guard the *Bastille*; besides, there is a large and strong Barrier, the Points of it set with Iron Spikes, which divides the *Corps de Garde* from the great Court, and makes the Soldiers Masters of it; for if the Prisoners by Surprise could find Means to get down into the great Court, in order to get out, they must force the Barrier, before they made themselves Masters of the *Corps de Garde*, and the Soldiers might easily fire upon them between the Pallisadoes of the Barrier, which has a Gate made of thick Pieces of Wood crossed with open Intervals lined with Iron, and to be lock'd, which leads into the great Court, which is a spacious long Square, about 150 Feet in Length, and 80 Feet in Breadth.

This

This Court leads to six of the Towers; and their Height and vast Bulk, with Iron Gates, makes the Court look dreadful.

Within the Barrier, on the Right Hand, is an Apartment, in which are the Lodgings for some subaltern Officers, and four Soldiers; adjoining to that Apartment on the Right Hand going the Court, is the Tower called *De la Comte*, next is the Tower named *Du Tresor*; then about the Middle of the Court is an Arch, which was formerly a Gate of *Paris*, and in which at present they have contrived several Apartments; next follows the Body of the ancient Chappel, whereof several Apartments are now made out of it for Prisoners and in the Angel of the Tower of the Chappel; this is what composes the right Wing of the Court; with strong Walls which joins the Towers together.

At the End of the Court is a large Pile of Building, which parts the great Court from the little one, which is called the Court of the Well, because of the Well being there for the Service of the Prison; which Building is modern, and hath been built since this Fabrick was first erected; this Building is divided by a great Stair-case leaded to the upper Apartments, and by a Passage that goes through from the great to the little Court. On the Right Hand, after going up five Steps, is a great Hall, where the *Lieutenant de Police*, and other Ministers, examine the Prisoners when

when they are to try them; in the End of it is a Gallery where they lock up all the Papers taken from the Prisoners; behind the Hall are other Rooms, where the Turnkeys and other subaltern Officers use; on the other Side is the Kitchen to dress the Victuals for the Prisoners, and over the Apartments for the Lieutenant *du Roy*, and those Prisoners who are favoured are favoured to walk by themselves an Hour in the Day in the great Court, adjoining the Kitchen.

On the other side of the of the Court is the Tower of Liberty, the Dungeons whereof run under the Kitchen; next to this Tower is an old Apartment, now turn'd into a Chappel, one Part of which is partition'd off into four Closets, which hath each a little Glass Window, so that the Prisoner can see the Priest at Mass, without knowing what Person is in the other Apartment; over the Chappel is the Tower *Bertaudier*; then follow other Apartments, where the Major and Captain of the Gates lodge; Lastly, in the Angle, which joins to the Barrier, is the Tower *Basiniere*.

In the little Court is a Tower called *Du Puitz*; this Court is broaded than it is long but is infected with disagreeable Stenches, because their the Cooks wash their Dishes, and sing their dirty Water,

SIMON Lord *LOVAT.* 10

All round this Castle is a Ditch about 25 or 28 Feet high, to which is fixed a wooden Gallery, with a Parapet, which runs all round the Ditch before the Castle, and on which there are Centinels all the Day, to secure the Prisoners from making their Escape.

In Summer the Ditch is dry, and there are great Mastiff Dogs let loose in the Night; In Winter the Ditch is filled with Water, which comes by the Overflowing of the River *Seine*, or with great Rains; without the *Bastille*, next the Suburbs of *St. Antony*, is a great Bastion cut off from the Body of the Castle, on which they have planted Trees, and made a Garden for the Governor, into which they go through a Door made in the Gallery against the Appartments of the ancient Chapel; on the Left of the *Bastille* is *St. Antony's Gate*, flank'd by another Bastion, which faces that of the *Bastille* i there runs the fine double Row of Trees which have been planted round *Parii*, and reach from thence the Gate *St. Honore*.

Between the two Bastions is the Stone Bridge of *St. Anthouy's Gate*, (and the Town-Ditch on both Sides) which leads you into several beautiful Streets in the Suburbs of *St. Anthony*.

Officers

Officers of the Bastille.

The first Officer is Monsieur *Picard*, Capt. of the Castle of the *Bastille*, but generally called Governor, and Mounf. *Dupied*.

The King's Lieutenants, who only are appointed by the King, and put in Possession by his Breviat; and the others are put in by the Governor, and may be discharged at his Pleasure; that is, a Major, Lieutenant of the Company guarding the Castle, Captain of the Gates, Chaplain, Physician, Surgeon, Apothecary, three Turnkeys, and a Jesuit Confessor. The Governor hath likewise Servants and other subaltern Officers and Soldiers of the Company that guard the Castle; but they have no Communication with the Prisoners any more than the Steward, Butler, Cook and other inferion Servants.

All the Prisoners, of what Quality soever they are, the Governor, Officers, and all in general, who have any business in the *Bastille* are under the Direction of one of the Secretaries of State, who very rarely comes to the *Bastille*, but substituted the late Mons. *D'Argenson* (Father of the present Minister, who sent, by the Favour of Mynheer *Van Hoey*, that famous Letter to the Duke of *Newcastle*, in Favour of the Rebels) and since his Death Mons. *Herault*, both Lieutenants of the *Police*, and Counsellors of State, who had under them
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the Commissioner of the *Bastille*, whose Name is Mons. *Roussaniol*, with his Secretaries, Grif-fiers, Registers, Interpreters, and other Of-ficers ; and when any one is to be try'd for Life, he has an Order from the King's Privy Council, which appoints him Judge above any Appeal, with a certain Number of Counsellors of the *Chatelet* or City Gaol, whom the Lieu-tenant *de Police* always takes with him in his Coach to the *Bastille* ; so that he has the sole Disposal, as to Life and Death, of those who are so unfortunate as to be try'd in the *Bastille* ; tho' the said Secretary, or Minister, settled Mons. *De Preteur* one of his Clerks there, who hath an Inspection over the Governor and Go-vernment of the *Bastille*, and could do much, either in Favour of, or against the Prisoners ; and it is not look'd upon as a heinous Crime for Magistrates or Courtiers in *France*, to re-ceive Present.

Mons. *D'Argenson*, who came to the *Bastille* to try the Prisoners, was a Person descended from a Magistrate called *Presidial of Angoulm*, and afterwards a Subintendant ; he was of a black austere Countenance, but a penetrating Genius, whom, in a Court of Justice, no Man, tho' ever so undaunted, can avoid being seiz-ed with Horror ; but in private Capacity, a Person of an agreeable Conversation, very learn-ed, polite and charming ; and, notwithstand-
standing all his Employments, which were a heavy Burden on him, which would furnish

Business enough for twenty Persons, he had Leisure for them all.

He was equally dreaded and hated in *Paris*; and tho' he was not not beloved by any, even in his own Family, he went on boldly everywhere, with the same Undauntedness as if he were beloved by all Mankind; he was well acquainted with the *Parisians*, and had such a Number of Spies, of high and low Appearance that it was almost impossible for any Man in a Conversation, to drop any thing reflecting on the higher Powers, but he was informed of it, and then sent one of his Messengers with *Lettres des Cacknttes*, which he had always by him sign'd, Blank, by the King, who convey'd them to the *Fort l'Eveque*, *Chatelet*, *Concergerie*, or to the *Bastille*, in which latter Place his Malice and Severity, were mostly shewn to such unaappy People who were mostly shewn to such unhappy People who have done any thing against the Court, or had offended any of the Favourites or Ministers; for his only End was to please the King and his Favourites. He did it at the Cost of all those that fell into his Hands; and under Colour of administering Justice to the *French* Monarch, he exercis'd the most cruel Tyranny in the Universe.

Here follows the Captain's Advestures in the Bastille, with a particular Account of the Severities used in that Inquisition, which God forbid

bid should be introduced into this Free-Nation ; and must have been the-Consequence, if those wicked People, the REBELS, had succeeded in their late Attempt against our KING and GOVERNMENT.

So soon as one of the Exempt's Servants arrived and sent in his Message to the Governor, the Gates were immediately order'd to be opened, and both the Coaches went into the Yard ; as they enter'd, so soon as they came near the Soldiers, they held their Hats before their Faces ; which strange Ceremony is performed. because the Soldiers are forbid to look a Prisoner in the Face.

Being come to the little Court of the Governor's Apartment, where are several beautiful tame Fowl, they alighted, and were receiv'd at the Foot of the Stairs by the King's Lieutenant, who conducted the Captain and the Officers to the Governor's Apartment, whilst the other Officers were following them ; when the Governor reprimanded them, and told them, that when Gentlemen were put into his Hands, he was able to take Care of them.

The Exempt deliver'd over to the Governor the Order for securing the Captain ; and told him that the Minister had order'd him to recommend the *Englishman* particularly to him, and enjoin'd him to treat him more favourably than others Prisoners. Then the Governor
sign'd

sign'd the Duplicate of the *Mittimus*, wherein he acknowledged the Receipt of the Prisoner, by which the Captain had an Opportunity to find that he was committed by *Mons. Corbett*; the Captain then reminded the Exempt of his Promise to carry the Letter beforementioned: The Exempt ask'd the Governor for Paper to write; who answer'd, That as soon as a Prisoner was in his Custody, he could not allow him to write, without a special Order from the Court. The Exempt, to comfort him for that Disappointment, promised to wait on the *Marquit de Torcy*, otherwise Mr. Corbett, as soon as he should come to *Versailles*, to ask that Leave.

The Governor offer'd them a Breakfast, which they refus'd. After the Exempt had taken Leave of them, the Governor order'd the Lieutenant *Du Roy*, or see that a Chamber in the Chappel be made ready. In the mean Time the Governor ask'd the Captain how long he had been in *France*, and several other Questions, until one of the Servants brought Word that all Things were ready & so he came down, and was conducted through a *Corps de Garde*, where were several Soldiers under Arms, who also held their Hats before their Faces.

Thence they passed through the great Court, then went to a large Door, with three Steps leading up to a Stair-Case, shut up with two Gates, which made a dreadful Noise when they

they were opened ; having ascended 25 or 30 Steps up that Stair-Caise. they went in at two Doors covered with Iron Plates, which made more Noise, when open'd, than the others had done ; when they enter'd into a square Room, where the Captain found he must remain ; at which the Captain began to exclaim, and ask'd what Crime he had committed, to be put into such a dreadful Place, so badly furnished ? Upon which, one of the Men told him, those Apartments over the Chappel were the best in the Place, so badly furnished ? Upon which, one of the Men told him, those Apartments over the Chappel were the best in the Place, and only for Princes or Noblemen of the highest Rank, and as such he was reported to be in *Scotland*.

Then the Major order'd him to deliver up all he had about him ; and so they stripp'd him from Head to Foot, and gave him other cloaths in the Room ; which Method is taken to prevent their concealing Papers and Instruments that may be used to make any desperate Attempt, or Money to bribe the Servants ; which the Captain refused, until the Lieutenant *Du Roy* came from the Governor, and told him, that he might put what he had in his Pockets with all Safety into the Hands of the Major, who would not wrong him ; But it is the Rule of the Prison to do so, which Things are restored them when discharged : No Prisoner is ever brought hither, though

though he were a Prince, but does the same; therefore if you do not do it, you will oblige the Major to call up Soldiers, who will compel you by unbecoming Violence: The Major will give you a Note of all your Money, and of all other Things, with a Promise to return them: Which Words appeased the Captain, who found it the best Way to submit; with an Inventory was made, with a Duplicate, and sign'd by each Party; after which the Officers withdrew, and shut the Door upon the Captain, which made a dreadful Noise; leaving him alone in that solitary Place.

His Keepers being gone, he set himself upon meditating what could be the Cause of his Confinement, and began to think he was betray'd.

After taking several Turns, he began to survey the Furniture of his Room, which was a Bed, a Table, and two Chairs. The black and smoaky Walls of his Apartment, instead of being hung with Tapestry, were cover'd with the Names of his unfortunate Predecessors; among whom was *Henry de Montmoreny*, Duke of *Luxemburg*, was brought hither, by which the Captain understood that the said Marshal of *France*, who since made such a Figure in the World, had been long shut up in that Chamber, as well as the Marshal *le Biron*, and *de Bassompierre*.

Here

Here also was shut up many Years, Mons.
de Sacy, who made an admirable Translation
of the Holy Scripture, with an excellent Ex-
position taken from the holy Fathers and ec-
clesiastical Writers, there were an infinite Num-
ber of Inscription on the Walls, but, amongst
many, this very particular one:

Patientia levius fit Malum.

Patience makes Evils light.

Whilst the Captain was thus busying him-
self in reading the various Subjects that were
in that dreadful and immovable Manuscript
(the Records of Fools) he heard the Bolt of the
he heard the Bolt of the Doors below make
a Noise, there being five Doors to open to
come to it, which made a hideous Rattling
in opening, the Echoes in the Stairs and other
Appartments adjoining, answering in a dole-
ful Manner, which startled the Captain, so that
he was apprehensive of some Evil.

Howevr, the five Doors being opened, in
came a Servant, or Turnkey, with a great
earthen Pitcher filled with Water in one Hand,
and a large Basket in the other, wherein were
a Chamberpot, a Glass, two clean Napkins, a
Salt, a Spoon, a Knife and Fork, a Pewter
Spoon, and a Bottle of small Wine. The
Captain desired the Person to bring him some
of his Books to amuse him in his Confinement;
but he could not do it, he said, till
they

they had been searched by the Minister ; and then, shutting the Door again, said, he was going to bring him his Dinner ; upon which the Captain asked him, whether the King was to maintain him, or whether he should be allowed to have his Dinner brought at his own Cost ; but could get no Answer.

Then the Captain again fell to meditating on his fatal Adventure, calling over all he had said or done ; and the more he endeavoured to discover the Cause of his Misfortune, the more he was involved in Reflections, which drew him from one Confusion to another ; when, being altogether wrapped up in these Thoughts, the Clock striking Three, he was roused again by the Clattering of the Bolts, which he thought penetrated into his Bones ; the last Door being open'd, the Turnkey came in with some Dishes ; he laid one of the Napkins on the Table with his Dinner, which consisted of Soup Maigre, on a Plate was a Slice of boil'd Beef, with some Gravy, and a Garniture of Parsley ; on another was a Quarter of a Pye, full of Rice, Veal, Asparagus and Mushrooms or a Desert.

As soon as the Turnkey had done, he went away ; but the Captain had little Appetite, when in about an Hour the Major came in, who sat down by the Captain, and enquired his Health ; the Captain reply'd in a melancholy Tone, that he was chagrin'd at such Usage ; and, to raise his Spirits, drank to
the

Major, who said, *that it wae not allowed him to drink with a Prisoner* ; then the Captain asked him if he must pay for his Diet, or if he must be beholden to the King for it ? He bid him ask for any Thing he wanted, and it should be got, for that the *French King* paid for all ; he then enquired if *Monf. de Torcy* would appoint Commissioners to examine him ; he answer'd, that the Orders were usually directed to the Lieutenant of the *Polics*, whom the Minister had appointed Commissioners to examine him ; he answered, that the Orders were usually directed to the Lieutenant of the *Police*, whom the Minister had appointed to make the Report to his Majesty.

He prefs'd to be inform'd when he could see the Lieutenant *de Police* ; who told him, that he would not see him till he had a special Order from the Minister who had caused him to be arrested ; and desired him not to be impatient, but above all, not to give Way to Melancholly ; and then took his Leave of him, and withdrew, and shut all the five Doors upon him ; which is here mentioned to give the Reader an Idea of the Diet and Treatment used in this political College for the Men of the greatest Rank or Quality.

In the Night there sprung up a Wind, which beating against the Window, formed melancholy Accents ; and tho' the Captain could not be unacquainted with the Cause, yet it added to his Melancholy ; and what increased t the

more, was, that he was debarr'd Pen, Ink, and Paper, and even Books, with which he might have amus'd himself, and pass'd the Time.

But 'ht was destitute of all Things there: And when he ask'd the Officers for Paper, telling them the Occasion, they told him, it could not be done without an Order of Court.

So soon as the Dawn of the Day began to discover to him the Horror of his Cell, he offer'd up to God his Heart, and fervently pray'd that God would pardon his former mispent Life, and support him under such a heavy Burthen of Affliction.

The Officers of the *Bastille* continued every Day to go to his Appartment, all the while he remained in that Room, and always found him in a profound Melancholy, which they ascribed to the Severity of his Confinement; but always pressing to send Messages to the Minister, that his Examination, or Trial might be expedited; who comforted him with fair Promises, and Advice to have Patience, for he must wait the Minister's Leisure.

In this Manner the Captain remain'd several Months confined in a separate Apartment from other Persons; without the Use of Pen, Ink, or Paper, or any Person admitted to him, but the Officers, and Waiter that brought him his Provisions twice a Day, and made his Bed, and other Service, as is done to the unfortunate Gentleman that are confined in that Place; and
for

whom the *French* King allows the Governor a Pistola a Day for every State Prisoner; till one Sunday he was called down by Order of the Governor, to whom he made his Complaint of the Severity of his Confinement; who told him, it was the Practice of that Castle to keep Prisoners separate until they had gone through their Examination, and said that he expected the Secretary of the Court at *St. Germain's* would deliver to the Lieutenant *de Police* a Set of Interrogatories for his Examination; and so soon as he had been examined thereto, he might expect some Indulgence; but till then, it was not in his Power to break through the Rules of the Castle; and advised him to be patient, and comfort himself with the Hopes of Favour from Court, in Case he was innocent of the Things laid to his Charge: at the same Time order'd the Major and Lieutenant *Du Roy* to furnish him from Time to Time with such Books as he should want to read, out of the Library.

After which he returned to his Appartment, sometimes amusing himself with Reading, and at other Times walked up and down the Chamber, which not being sufficient to divert his active Genius, he at last order'd the Servant to purchase for him a Paper of Pins, which when he had got, he carefully counted over, and then would scatter them about the Room, and employ himself untill he had pick'd up the last Pin, though it lay never so obscure in any Corner.

Corner. In this Manner he passed away several Months; until the Lieutenant de Polise came one Day to his great Surprize, with all his Officers, and there in a solemn Manner told him, that the King desired to know whether he had no other Papers than those which had been seized.

The Captain reply'd he had no other Papers; at which the Magistrate, with a stern Look, asked him for those Letters he had received from England, as well as the Copies of those he had sent there, and intimated at the same Time, that it would be to no Purpose to conceal them, for that tho' he imagin'd himself to have carried on that Correspondence with great Secrecy, yet it was come out; and therefore, he expected any Favour or Mercy from the Court, it would be right of him to be open and ingenious, and told him he would allow him a few Days to consider of it, and so ordered him to be conducted into another Chamber, without any Furniture but a Bed on the Ground.

The Words of the Magistrate made the Captain shudder to think of what Hands he was fallen into, who were capable of doing any Mischief. The Captain here began to survey the Records of the Wall, where he saw the Name of several that he had formerly known, and whom he had missed, and could never learn what became of them.

Amongst

Amongst the several Inscriptions was that of the *Count de Lauzam*, whose Story we beg Leave of the courteous Reader to insert here, before we proceed any further in the Captain's Adventures.

Count de Lauzum, having been committed here some Time, for Reasons of State, and grown tired of such a disagreeable Life, intended an Escape; and having by an Order of the Court, Permission to see his Friends daily, at last projected his Escape, who caused Cords, Files, and other Instruments fit for that Purpose, to be brought him by his *Valet de Chambre*, but they were surprized in the Execution of their Design; the *Count de Lauzum*, afterwards a Duke and Peer of *France*, was carry'd down into a dismal dark Dungeon under the Citadel, and his faithful *Valet de Chambre* was tried by the *Lieutenant de Police*, condemned and hanged; but to add to the rest of that Nobleman's Misfortune's, was that of hanging the dead Body of his Servant at the Battlements of his Prison, that he might have that horrid Spectacle continually before his Eyes, in a Place where the Nobleman lying on Straw, fed with Bread and Water only, had no other Comfort but the Ideas of his past Grandeur, being without Books, without Employment, and only visited by his barbarous Keeper, when he brought him Bread and Water; the Count not knowing how to divert himself, had taught a little Spider which was in the Dungeon, to
come

come down to his Hand to receive some Crumbs of Bread, he gave or flung into the Webb.

One Day the Brute of an Officer came in at the Time, when the Count was entertaining himself with the Spider, he gave him an Account of that Amusement, when the Officer perceiving that the Count took delight in it, crush'd the Spider in his Hand, telling him, 'that such Criminals as he were unworthy of the least Diversion.'

The Duke, after he was restored to Favour, protested, That of all the ill Turns he had done him, this last had appeared to him the most insupportable, not excepting the hanging of his Servant at the Grates of his Dungeon; so certain it is, that any Trifle discomposes a Man, when he is under Affliction, and that the greatest Souls when they have withstood the fiercest Assaults of angry Fortune, sometimes sink under such a Weakness, as would make them blush if they were in a Condition to examine, the Inconsiderableness of the Chimera that offends them.

The Captain having been about four Months in this Appartment, without, without any Companions, when about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, after the usual Rumbling of the Keys, Bolts and Doors, the Major and a Stranger came into his Chamber, and bid him dress himself.

How,

How, Sir, said the Captain, is my Liberty restored? No Sir, reply'd he, only a little Alteration by Order of the Governor, who has ordered the Workmen to white-wash your Chamber.

Upon which the Captain prepared to remove, and whilst he was putting on his gown, the other Man that was with the Major, took up his Things, and then shewed him down-Stairs out of the Doors of the Tower, and then carried him a-cross the Court, where he saw no Creature, without knowing where they were carrying him to.

The Major opened the Door of another Tower, called *Bartendiero*, and having gone up the Steps, entered into an Appartment where there was no more Light than what came from two Loop Holes.

When he was going to ask what he had done to be brought into that Place; but the Major and Assistant threw his Cloaths into a Nich-Hole in the Wall, and shut the Door hastily; it was a little eight-corner Place, about 10 Feet wide, and much about the same Height.

The Dirt was very thick about the Floor, and the two Loop-Holes were a Foot and a Half wide, and went narrowing outwards like a Cone, in the Thickness of the Wall to the End, which next the Ditch was not a half Foot in Width, and that Part was shut up with a Lettice, being also check'd by the Thickness

Thickneſs of the Wall, which is ten Feet on that Side by the Grate, and by a Window which ſhut to, and very dirty; the Light was ſo weak when it reached the Room, it was ſcarce ſufficient to diſtinguiſh Objects, and was a mere Glimmering; ſo that a Man muſt lean upon the Loop-Hole to be able to read, when the Sun was directly upon it; and towards the Winter, he was forced to dine by Candlelight; all the Furniture was a little Table, very old and broken, a little Bottom ruſh Chair, and a Field Bed, of Girts, a little Quilt or Mattraſs, a Bolſter a green Rug (full of Fleas) a Pair of clean Sheets, which the Turakey brought up, to whom he complain'd grievouſly, and pray'd him to tell, what he had done to the Governor to be ſo uſed, and whether he would put one of his Footmen in ſuch a wretched Bed.

All he answered was, that he must have Patience, and then shut the Door hastily, and left him to reflect at Leisure on his sad Situation, as *Dryden* says,

To measure Time by Woe!

About

About nine at Night, the Turnkey brought him a very poor Supper, and a lighted Candle, but no Officer came with him; for it is likely they forbore coming, to save hearing his Complaints and Reproaches, which it is probable he would have liberally bestowed on them, on them, on Account of his bad Food, and his Chamber (which was called the *light Dungeon*) and the Indifference of his Furniture; he supped very ill, and lay worse, for his Companions the Fleas, would not permit him to close his Eyes, and the stench of the Room was intolerable.

Every Quarter of an Hour, during the Night, the Centinel rung a Bell, and with a doleful Tone cryed, *Who comes there?* and in the Day Time his Diversion was to hunt and destroy the Fleas.

When the Turnkey brought Meat to this Tower he was in, he, by listening, could perceive he went into seven Lodgings, three under, and three over him; and the Provisions so ordinary, that the Captain could eat very little, but returned the most of his Allowance to the Turnkeys, which were his Fees, except the broken Bread, which was carried into the Kitchen; and then put into the Prisoner's Soup.

The Captain, quite wore out with this lonesome Life, desired he might have another Prisoner for Company, which could not be granted, but by an Order of Lieutenant *de Police*; it last

to satisfy his Curiosity, he invented this particular Method; he begg'd of the Turnkeys to bring him a Broom to sweep his Chamber; which being done, but continual Study, he found out a Method of communicating his Thoughts to the Prisoners who were in the Chamber above him, which was very extraordinary.

He contriv'd an Alphabet, which he performed by striking against the Wall with the Broomstick.

For an *A* he struck one Stroke, for a *B* two, for a *C* three Strokes, and so on for the rest, through the whole Alphabet, to express the Word *Monsieur*, for the *M* he gave twelve Strokes, and stopt a little; then gave fourteen Strokes for the *O*, and stopt again; for *N* thirteen, and stopt; for the *S* eighteen, and stopt; for the *I* he gave nine, and made a Pause; for the *E* he gave five, and stopt; for the *U* he gave twenty, and paused again; for the *R* he gave seventeen, and then forbore a considerable Time, till he began another Word: Having practis'd this Contrivance a great Number of Times, those who were in the next Apartment at last understood it, and was agreeably surprized at their asking in the same Method, *who he was?* And by the same Method he was inform'd who they were; the one was Dr. Bromfield, a Quaker, that had followed the late King James.

Much

Much Application and Silence being requisite for that Method of Communication ; which Work they did not go about till Ten at Night ; and by constant Practice, brought it so to Perfection, that they thoroughly understood each other, as will appear hereafter.

One Morning about Four of the Clock, the Captain was surprized to hear the Tower Doors opened, and see the Turnkey bringing a Bedstead, a Straw Bed, a Quilt, and Bolster and Blanket, all quite new ; when the Captain asked him the Meaning of it, *A Companion*, he said, *you are to have, a brave Fellow as ever was* ; all this without ever seeing him, though he did not come till three Days after ; for about Five of the Clock on the third Day, there was a great Noise in the Tower, of the Turnkeys, in continual Motion, going up and down, conveying of Prisoners, when at last his Door was opened, and in came a likely Man, but in a very bad Condition, who ran to embrace him, saying, *he was the first Man he had seen in two Years besides his Turnkeys* ; the Major, who came with him, reply'd, *You do the Officers of this Castle much Honour in calling them Turnkeys* ; when the Gentleman turned about to him, said with an angry Tone, *I tell you, Sir, it is all the Honour they deserve ; for under the Copes of Heaven there are no greater Villains than those who consume Men by Degrees with Torments that are only fit for the Damn'd in Hell, of which only the Devils ought to be the Executioners.*

This very much surpriz'd the Captain, to hear a Prisoner speak so freely to an Officer that had such absolute and unlimited Authority over them; however, the Major withdrew, and caused the Door to be shut upon the new Comer, and the Captain (after having flung in his Cloaths, which were an old Dragoon's Cloak, and a little Bundle of Linnen) the first Thing they did when left alone, was to ask each other, *Who are you? Whence came you? Who sent you hither? and What for?*

This new Comer was a Gentleman of about thirty-five Years of Age, had spent twenty Years in the *French Army*, and was an Officer of Dragoons in the Regiment of *Du Blois*: He was of a Martial Air, of a middle Stature but well made and brawney; his Countenance was manly, and the Scars on it ought to have made his Judges blush, for having shut up his Valour two Years, out of a Motive of Avarice, and his Confinement was one of the cruellest Things in the World.

The Matter was thus; They had begun to enquire into the *Genry*, in order to tax the pretended Gentleman, and return them to the Degree of Yeomen; which Method was laudable enough, if the Partisans had not confounded the true *Genry* with the Usurpers of that Title.

They

They had obtained an Order of Council, that all Gentlemen should produce their original Deeds, Certificates, and Contracts of Marriage of their Fathers and Grandfathers, (Copies compared with the Originals, and in due Form, were not sufficient) they must produce the Originals, by which they required Impossibilities; for the Partisans had found Means to get into their Hands, most of the Originals; and consequently had an Opportunity of degrading several Gentlemen, especially those that are called *Country Gentleman*.

This new Companion of the Captain's was under these Circumstances; his Name was *Jean Baptiste L'apenty*, Lord of *Falourdet*, which is a noble Estate in the Parish of *Champagn*, he prov'd his *Gentility* by authentick Deeds for 400 Years standing; and asserted, that in the City of *Rheims*, in the Province of *Champagn*, he proved his *Gentility* by authentick Deeds for 400 Years standing; and asserted, that in the Year of *Rheims*, and in other Places in that Province, there were many Tombs, of unquestionable Authority and Antiquity, belonging to his Ancestors; he had produced all the original Contracts of their Marriages, except that of his Great Grandfather, who had been Married at *Poissy*, for Want of which, they pretended to degrade him of his *Gentility*, tho' he had a Copy of it in Parchment, in due Form. The Intendant of the Province had examined his Papers, and perceiving that a single Deed was
wanting,

wanting, remitted him to Monsieur *Le Bas*, Sub-delegate to the Council of Nobility, to judge of these Affairs.

He had been with the Clerks of the said Monsr. *Le Bas*, who were appointed to examine them, *who told him that if he would give them a Present, they would make him easy, and cause his Gentility to be confirm'd by an Order of Council*; and having agreed with them for fifty *Lewis d'Ors*, they sent him to *Poissy*, to the Heirs of the Notary, who had drawn the Contract of Marriage for his Great Grandfather, to seek the Original; the People were very honest, who lived in the Country, and for four Crowns, carried him into the Garret, where were all the Papers belonging to the dead Notary, whose Heirs they were, and left him there alone to search those old Scroles as long as he would.

He was well set to work, to look for that which the Sub-delegate's Clerks had themselves surreptitiously taken away, having been there before him; being returned, he told them that he could not find it, which they very well knew; those treacherous and wicked Clerks next directed him to an old Frier of eighty Years old, who lived in the *Rue St. Jaques*, in the Suburbs of *St. Germans*, in *Paris*, where he had a Conversation with him, and who for a small Sum, forged his Great Grandfather's Contract of Marriage, in the very Words of the Original, which he had privately

got from the Clerks, and in such a Gothick Hand as the Original was.

The Affair was brought before Mons. Dupont, who could not but give his Judgment for him, tho' he mistrusted there was some Mystery in it, seeing so many Contracts drawn at Poissy, tho' the Parties were of distant Provinces, as Normandy, Picardy, Maine, Burgundy, Auvergne, and the like; for Avarice had blinded those Clerks, that they had reported several Affairs of Persons disturbed on Account of their Gentility, made in that particular Place, that he suspected the Knavery of the Clerks. Therefore he sent for Mons. L'apenty, and delivering him his Decree, said, *I have found by your Vouchers, Sir, that you are a very antient and undoubted Gentleman, and it has been a meer Trick of the Managers, to make you produce the Original of your Great Grandfather's Contract of Marriage; I am satisfied, that the Copy you preserve in your Family, is a true one, but I suspect there is some Fraud in the Original. Tell me the Truth, said he, and I promise you your Gentility shall not only be secured to you, but I will procure you a Reward from the King, whom you have always faithfully served.*

The Sincerity of the Judge's Words gave a large Scope for Mons. L'apenty to discover the Truth, and be revenged on the Lucrativeness of the Clerks, who, 'tis likely, used all means, in Conjunction with the Managers, to fleece the true and false Gentlemen; the true, by
making

making them purchase their Vouchers as dear as they could; and the false, by selling them sham Vouchers at the highest Rates. *Mons. L'apenty* observed they had extorted from *Lady Le Font* Six Thousand Crowns for Vouchers; but she lost her Money, and was confined at *Vincennes* two Years, by which she suffered very much, and she and her Children were degraded. *Mons. L'apenty* discovered all the whole Matter to *Mons. Dupont*, who swore by the *Virgin Mary* he would keep his Promise, and sent him Home to *Champaign*, where his Castle was; and writ to the Intendant of that Province (which is like our *Lord Lieutenant* and *Custos Rotulorum*) not to molest him on account of his Gentility.

However the Judge caused the Clerks to be secured, and several false *Gentlemen*, who had obtained Decrees by this Method of Bribery; he also had the old Forger seized, who escap'd being hanged by his Death, and thereby anticipated his deserved Shame.

Mons. L'apenty fully and peaceably enjoy'd his Gentility in his own Country; where, after this Enquiry and Confirmation of it, he married a beautiful Lady. Lady of a good Family, and ample Fortune, and was newly brought to Bed, when being one Day a hunting with two Servants, he was accosted by four Horsemen.

Who

Who said they came to salute him, from the Officers of the Regiment of Dragoons he had a Troop in ; he innocently believed him, and invited them to his Seat or Castle where he intended to entertain them in the best Manner he could.

When they came up to him, they gave him to understand, that they had a *Lettre de Cachett*, and endeavoured to seize both him and his Arms.

He urged, he was much surpriz'd, that if Mons. Dupont, from whom he had received received kind Letters by the last Post, had order'd him to go to *Paris*, the last Note, under his Hand, was sufficient to make him set out that very Moment, in Obedience to his Orders without sending any Force ; against which, if he were guilty, he knew how to behave ; and at that, spurring his Mare, he shook off those who would have secured him, whilst one of his Servants presenting his Pistol at the Breast of the likeliest of the Company, swore he wou'd bring him down if he offered to stir : M^{ou}r. L'apenty commanded his Servant to refrain Firing, but oot to suffer them to come near him ; then he asked the Officers if they would bear him Company to his Castle, he would only take Leave of his Wife, and then go with them ; he disengaged himself so dexterously from them, that he had still his Arms, excepting his Pistols, which one of the Horsemen had secured, but was so far from making

an Advantage from the Disorder he saw them in, that he told them, *That knowing himself innocent, if what he should propose to them, was the least troublesome, he was ready to go with them, though he was in no Condition to take so long a Journey, having but very little Money about him, and no clean Linnen.*

They protested he should want for nothing they having Orders to defray his Charges, and they would plentifully supply him with whatsoever he should want, and that *Mons. Dupont* would assist him to return Home; he sent his Servant before, to tell his Lady not to be uneasy, and he had the Exempts followed, where they staid a small Time to refresh themselves, and then set out for *Paris*. They treated him well all the Way, but instead of conducting him to *Paris* to *Mons. Dupont*, they pretended they would pass through the Castle of *Vincennes*; and on their Arrival at that Court, they declared they were to leave him there, till further Orders from Court; they caused him to deliver his Mare and Equipage which they carefully sent back to his Castle. He, too late, was sensible of the Error he had committed; it was now no Time to brave it, in such a Castle as that, where they were; the Draw-bridge being up, and the Gates shut, from the Time of their going in; he must alight, and go on to the great Tower, where the Prisoners are secured; there he remained two Years with many Fellow-prisoners, who
were

were there on the same Account as he was, and many more, for several Offences; and tho' he was there all the Time alone, yet he had some Communication with several of them, amongst the rest, the Prince *de Riccia*, confined for having sided with the Emperor in *Naples*, and also with one *Monf. Devaux*, who had been there eleven Years for not adorning his Religion, which was the Reformed; that Man suffered very hard, yet enjoy'd a perfect Health, notwithstanding all the Severity used towards him, he was fat and fair, and of an unshaken Steadiness in his Resignation to the Decrees of Providence.

This Method they conversed together was singular; *Monf. L'apenty* had a Board, on which he writ a Word in large Characters with a Coal, then he put the Board to the Window, and when the other had read it he remarked it, and then he wiped it out, add writ another that followed in Course; then the other minuted or remarked it, and transcrib'd it on brown Paper giving to them by the Turnkey for private Uses; for he had made a Pen of a Bone, and Ink with the Soot.

The other answer'd *Monf. L'apenty* at length on brown Paper; for one was in an upper Apartment, in the Angel, and the other in a lower Chamber, where he had been put up to be nearer at Hand, to be looked after by the Apothecary, for he had been sick, and like to die, and there he had also the Liberty to

walk in a little Garden, which as at the Foot of the Tower where *Monf. Devaux* was shut up, who dropt his brown Paper, having wrap'd up a Bone in it to make it more ponderous against the Wind.

The other clap'd it in his Pocket and read it at Leisure.

But when *Monf. L'apenty*, was quite recovered, he had not the Liberty to walk in the Garden, but his Window being level with the Garden, he contrived to teach a little Bitch (the Governor had) to bring him a Bundle of Papers, which he several Times threw out of the Window into the Garden, which she brought to his Window; and to encourage her; when he had thoroughly taught her the Trick, he gave Notice to *Devaux*, by writing on his Board, and they agreed by a certain Signal, by which *Devaux* was to know when the Dog was in the Garden, because *Devaux* could not see the Dog from his Window, and then he was to let fall the Paper, with a little Stone wrap'd in it; they tried first with Paper that had nothing writ on it, which the Dog brought carefully to *Monf. L'apenty*, then *Monf. Devaux* threw down some Paper writ, which succeeded accordingly, and thus the Dog passed as a Messenger between them a long Time; but at last, tho' not discovered, they were suspected.

It happened luckily for them, that there was nothing in the Paper but *Raisins*, which *Mons. Devaux* sent to *Mons. L'apenty*; for just as the Dog brought them to him, the Lieutenant *du Roy*, of *Vincennes* Castle, came into the Garden, and the Dog gave it to him; he found the *Raisins*, said never a Word, and tho' *Mr. Devaux* (who had a Hint of this Accident, by Signs from *L'apenty*) desired the Turnkey, when he brought his Supper, to bring him his *Raisins* again, which he said, had dropt out of his Window into the Garden, when he had laid them there to dry; notwithstanding which they placed *Palisadoes* before *Mons. Devaux's* Window, to hinder the Dog from coming near it.

Just as *Mons. L'apenty* had finished this Narrative, the Turnkey came into the Apartment, and brought in the Bread and Wine, which was a fine chipp'd Loaf, such as the Captain us'd to have, and another Loaf of the same Size, but coarser, and a Bottle of *Burgundy*, as he used to bring, and another little Bottle of a Pint.

Mons. L'apenty immediately ask'd him who the great Bottle was for; and the Turnkey answered, it was for the *English* Captain, and the little one for him: He flew into a terrible Rage.

Will you have me break your Head, said he, with this little Bottle? Learn to be acquainted with me; go tell your Governor, unless he sends me such a Bottle of Wine as this Gentleman's; I will make my Complaint on purpose to my Judges, when I shall appear before them, and that I will not answer to any Question that they shall ask me, till they have done me Justice in this Affair; and that in the mean Time, whilst I am in this Room, no such Bottle shall come into it, but what I will dash in Pieces against the Wall.

The Turnkey answer'd, that there was one half Difference between his Person and the English Captain's; for the King allowed him But half a Pistole a Day.

How do you mean? half a Pistol a Day! reply'd he; for that Money your Master is obliged to ffrd me with Partridges, or something equivalent at every Meal, and the best Wine in this City; and ought to treat this Gentleman like a PEER for his Pistole a Day.

The Turnkey was going out, and about to leave him with his little Bottle, when Mons. L'apeutry furiously laid hold on him, and was going to break his Head, had not the Capt. prevented it, by interposing, and snatching the Bottle out of his Hand, desiring him to accept of his Quart Bottle, and he would keep the little one himself.

But

But the Turnkey hearkened to Reason; he took the little Bottel, and said he would go fetch him a large one, since the Governor got enough by them, and return'd immediately with another Quart Bottle.

The Captain was strangely surpriz'd to see how passionately *Mons. L'penty* ruffled these People, who had it in their Power to use him as they pleas'd, without being call'd to Account for it.

He gve the Captain to understand, that if he had not carry'd so high a Hand with the Officers at *Venceunes*, he should have been treated like those wretched Creatures, whom they had reduced to a deplorable Condition; he further added, that he expected to be out of the *Bastille* in a fortnight at farthest; that his Affair being decided, well or ill, he had no Occasion to stand in Awe of the People, whom he look'd upon as the most barbarous Executions in the World.

The Case was quite alter'd when their Dinners were brought up. *Mons. L'penty* saw they gave him a wreted Soup, which seem'd to be no better than boil'd Cabbage-water, with a Bit of Beef on it, from which the Gravy had been already extracted, was very dry; whilst the Captain had a tolerable Soup, with Buillion, with a Ragout and Dessert: he flew into a dreadful Passion, the Turnkey slunk away, and having shut the Door, there was no throwing the Dishes out at the Windows.

He

He railed at the Governor very loadly; he knock'd violently at the Door, notwithstanding the Captain's Advice to the contrary; at last up came the Lieutenant *Du Roy*, who not caring to venture in, told him through the Key-hole, *That he must have Patience, and he should be better served at Night; but that if he would commit Outrages, they knew how to punish him.*

The Captain comforted him the best he could and when he grew calm, they made a shift with the little Portion allotted the Captain; and the other kept the Whole of his to throw at the *Turokey's* Head when he came again, but was prevailed on not to do so, but he satisfied with shewing him that he had not touched it, and to let him know that he ought not to treat a Man or his Quality so ill.

At Night he fared better, he had a roast Fowl, a *Ragout of Frogs*, with a *Sallad* (which in *France* is esteemed an elegant Dish) and prefer'd much before *Roast Beef* and *Pudding*. Yet all the Time he continued in that Apartment, his haughty Temper was sufficiently try'd by the Indignities those People put upon him, for what they gave him was not worth a *Livre a Day*.

He appeared to be very uneasy; and doubtless had Matters been carry'd to Extremity, he had Reason to be so. He had given Money to the old Man in *Rue St. Jaques*, to forge the Original of his Great Grandfather's Marriage Contract

Contract, which he had clandestinely convey'd into the Garret of the deceased Notary at *Poissy*.

All this could not be any way extenuated by the Confession he had made to *Monsieur Dupent*, upon that Minister's Promise that he should not suffer for it, by the certain and effectual Solidity of his Gentility, on Account of which he was most unjustly molested, who being unskillful in such Affairs, had suffer'd himself to be led away by those corrupt Clerks, at his great Expence, without being sensible of the Consequences.

He farther told the Captain, that *Monsieur Count* the Commissary, before whom his Cause was to be heard at *Vincennes*, and who was *Intendant* of the Revenue, had expressed much Compassion for him: that he had always made him sit down with his on when he examined him; and made no Scruple to tell him that the only Thing which could save the Subdelegate's Clerks. was there Master's being so deeply concern'd in the Fraud, that it was impossible to proceed against them with Rigour, without involving him; that he farther freely declared, that nothing was too hot or too cold for the Subdelegate, he being so covetous that all his most crafty Devices were bent upon getting Riches, without consulting his Honour or Conscience. The Commissary never went from the said Governor of *Vincennes*, without recommending it to him, to use the

Prisoners kindly ; and he in private asked Monsr. *L'apenty*, if he was treated well with Necessaries and Provisions ? In short, the Commissary gave him Leave to write to his Wife once a Month, and to receive Answers from her, which were all inspected by the Lieutenant *Du Roy*.

He had very good Diet there, and when he was sick he had a Nurse, and special Care was taken of him.

Monsr. *L'apenty* continued with the Captain several Months in the same Tower, till at last the Day of his Trial came. At Five of the Clock in the Morning the Lieutenant *Du Roy* came to bid him prepare for his Trial ; upon which he took his last Farewel of the Captain as if he had been to die ; it was about Ten o'Clock in the Morning when the Lieutenant *Du Roy*, the Captain of the Gates, and two Turnkeys came to take him away. The Captain and he took a solemn Farwel of each other.

About two Hours afterwards he heard the Doors below rattling, and in comes Monsieur *L'apenty*, and gave the following Account of what had happen'd.

When they went out of the Chamber, the Captain of the Gates took hold of the Skirt of his Coat which he bore with Reluctancy. At the Foot of the Stairs he found an Exempt, with several Men armed ; they all joined together to guard him to the *Arsenal*, they

they enter'd at a little Door, that makes a Communication with the *Bastille*.

After having passed through the great Court, the *Corps de Garde*, the Barrier, and Court of the Governor, where the Soldiers put their Hats before their Faces, he was conducted thro' several Apartments, till he came to the great Hall, full of Footmen, Exempts, Messengers, and such like; and having waited there a little Time, he was led into another stately Hall, all beset with Judges, with Scarlet Robes, and long Whigs, wherein their Heads seem'd to be bury'd; *Monsieur Bralair* president in that august Assembly, sitting on an Eminence; and *Mons. Chanton*, who was to make the Report of that Affair, was on his right Hand; all the other Judges of that dreadful Tribunal were ranged to the Right and Left of him, being in all fifteen; at his Feet sat the *Grassier* (Register) with a long Table before him, cover'd with a large Carpet hanging down to the Ground, and at the two Ends stood several Serjeants at Arms, with their gilded Maces.

One of those Serjeants caused *Mons. L'apenty* to kneel on a little Stool (because of his Gentility) in the Middle of the Court.

Mons. L'apenty declared, in a Moment, he was seized with such a terrible Trembling, that he lost his Senses, and had like to have dropt down: saying that he had been in several Battles and Sieges, and was never so much daunted

daunted and dispirited, as he was there ; when Mons. *Ghanton* perceiving it, encouraged him not to be afraid.

Then one of the Serjeans gave each of the Judges a Sheet of Paper writ on ; and the *Presidial* examined him on the same Point of his former Examination or Confession to Mons. ———, about the into the deceased Notary's Garret with the forged Marriage-Contract of his Great Grandfather, which he acknowledged to be true. When they had gone through their Interrogations, they all declared they were satisfy'd, and that he had given a full and plenary Answer ; and, without letting him know their Opinion, whether Guilty or not, or what Punishment he was to undergo ; he was ordered to rise, and a Serjeant led him, moving backwards, with his Face still towards the Judges (making, with the Serjeant, three low Reverences) till he got out of the Court into the Anti-chamber, or Hall. There the Lieutenant *Du Roy* and the Captain of the Gates waited for him, who conducted him back to the Captain's Apartment into the *Bastille*.

After two Years Confinement, the happy Moment came, as he thought, that was to put a Period to his Calamities, when the Major came into his Chamber one Morning, and bid him dress himself, for he was to be discharged out of the *Bastille*, which was very agreeable to Mons. *L'apenty*.

He

He took Leave of the Captain, and their Parting was full of Tenderneſs; for they had contracted a mutual Affection for each other, during ſo long a Confinement.

But the Fate of Monſ. *L'apenty* was very cruel, notwithſtanding the Promise of Monſ. ———; and, which is a notable Inſtance of *French* Faith, for he was condemned to be confined ſeven Years in the *Biffetre*, a Priſon two Miles out of *Paris*, and to live upon Bread and Water, only, to have an Ounce of Meat two Days in the Week; his Eſtate and Goods to be conſiſcated to the King; and afterwards he was to be baniſh'd the *French* King's Dominions for Life. And in caſe he returned, his Hands were to be cut off on the Stage, whiſt alive, and one Month afterwards his Head to be cut off, which was to be affixed on a Pole in *Seignion*, where his Caſtle was; his Body to be quarter'd, then burnt, and his Aſhes to be thrown into the River.

The Captain remained ſome Weeks in his Chamber very melancholy, without any Company. He often ſent his Compliments to the Governor, deſiring to let him have another Companion.

At laſt, one Morning, the Major came, and bid him put up all his Baggage (which being ſmall was ſoon done) for he was going to put him in a Chamber with another Priſoner.

The Turnkey who came with him, laid hold of his Equipage, when he was conducted to the

Garret

Garret of the Tower; it was the Top of an *Octagon*, or eight-corner Room. The eight Arches meet at the Top like a Cap, taking up most of it, so that there was no walking but in the Middle of it, and there was scarce room to place a Field-Bed in it.

There was a Grate before the Window within the Room, as high as the Room itself, which obstructs coming near the other Grate that is on the outside, by ten Feet, being the thickness of the Wall, and is a great Hindrance to the Prospect, which otherwise extended a vast Way; for notwithstanding great Part of *Paris* appears, a Man may see into the *Rue St. Antony*, as also the Tower of *Nostre Dame Cathedral*.

The greatest Inconveniency of this Apartment was, its being excessive hot in the Summer, and tolerably cold in the Winter, and all the Garrets, or Tops of the Towers in the *Bastille* are in the same Manner, only the Windows have different Prospects.

In this Apartment the Captain found a young Man sitting on a Bed, wrapped up in a strip'd Night gown. He was very pale, and did not stir when they went into the Room. After the Major had withdrawn, and the Door was bolted and locked, the Gentleman got up, who was a tall young Man, well shaped, of about nineteen Years of Age, but very melancholly, and fallen away.

The

The Captain asked him in *French*, *Comment vous portez vous Monsieur ?* to which the other answer'd, *Mynbeer ich can niet verstaan*; by which the Captain supposed he was a *German*; he then asked him in *Dutch* (which the Captain understood a little of) of *what Part of Germany he was of?* who answer'd, he was from *Hannaub*, on the River *Mein*, in the Prince of *Hesse Castle's* Dominions.

He then began to be open with the Capt. and told him by what Misfortune he came there, his Father, who tenderly loved him, he said, had sent him to all the Courts in *Germany*, and that he was so acceptable in the Court of *Wirtemberg*, that he had been kept about her Highness, the Dutchess, as her Physicians, his Knowledge surpassing his Years: The Beauty of a young Lady of *Languedock*, who was with that Princess, to teach her the *French* Language, made the first Impression on his tender Heart, she was the Dutchess's Favourite; and the two youthful Servants took a Liking to each other.

The Lover writ to his Father to have his Consent to marry that amiable Woman, whose Name was *Anna Maria Lorn*, of *Montpellier*, whom the Troubles about Religion had occasioned to leave the *French* Territories; she was Niece to the Marquis *de la Tour*, who was obliged to retire from *France* on the same Account, from whom she expected a very great Fortune, he being then old and Childless: Myn-
beer

heer *Mertz's* Father though he highly approved of his Son's judicious Choice, and advised him to make a Tour to *France* and *Italy* before he settled in order to learn the *French* Tongue compleatly, that he might the better express himself to his beloved Mistress; accordingly he set out for *Paris*, and took up his Lodgings in the House of an Apothecary in the *Rue Daughin*, in the Suburbs of *St. Germain*, who had formerly laid at Mr. *Mertz's* House at *Hannaugh*, who carried the young *German* to the Academies in *Paris*, as also the Hospitals and Physick-Garden, to perfect himself in his Profession; when some of the Relations of the *Marquis de la Tour* had receiving Letters from *Germany*, giving an Account of the intended Match between *Mynheer Mertz* and *Mada-moiselle Anna Maria Torn* by the *Marquis's* by the *Marquis's* Consent, consequently they likely to be excluded any Benefit of the large Fortune the *Marquis* should leave at his Death; and, to Mrevent the Marriage, or be reveng'd, and in order to perpetrate their wicked Scheme, they contrived to get one *Vanderput* (who had been a Merchant at *Leipsick*, where he became a Bankrupt, and sold his Effects, and brought the Money into *France*, and with it bought a Commission in one of the Marching Regiments) to get into *Mynheer Mertz's* Company at the *Coffee-Alamyn*, near the Comedy-house at *Paris*, and there there they enter'd into Religious Dis-
putes

putes (and the Jesuits had instructed him to discover Hereticks) he used a *Postulatum*, or ensnaring Question relating to the Real Presence in the *Eucharist*; which the other denied, and quoted several Texts of Scripture to confute that Doctrine, saying it was a Piece of Priestcraft, and an Imposition on Mankind; the two Germans parted, seemingly very friendly, but *Vanderput* went and gave Information against him that very Evening of all their Discourse to the eldest Commissary of *Paris*, who in his daily Returns reported this Passage to the Lieutenant de *Police*.

It was about Four of the Clock in the morning somebody knock'd at Mr. *Mertz's* Door, he opened it, and was surpriz'd to see three or four unknown Faces come in, besides their Presence at that Time was disagreeable, they asked him whether his Name was not *Mertz*, and whether he was not acquainted with the Marquis de la *Tour*, and Mademoiselle *Loru*? he, in the French he could, told them he had the Honour to know them, and that he left them well at the Court at *Wiotemberg*; they then told him that the Uneasiness of the young Lady at his Absence, had been so great, that she prevailed on her Uncle, the Marquis, to come with her to *Paris*, who, after obtaining a Pass-port through the Interposition of the Duke of *Bourbon*, had that Morning arriv'd at *Paris*, and were lodged at the *Hotell Antracks* in the *Tournay* Street, near the Palace of *Lux-*

emburg; and therefore asked whether he would go in the Coach with them; they had been told these Particulars by the Marquis's Relations.

He not dreaming of the Snare laid for him, by those wicked People, said, Nothing in this World could be more grateful to him, than to go pay his *Devoirs* to a Lady for whom he had the greatest Affection; upon which they descended into the Coach; which they shut up on all Sides, leaving Room for very little Light to come in; the Exempt was on his Right, and two of his Followers next the Horses, the others behind, and with the Coachman on the Box; for several of them had staid in the Street by Mr. Mertz's Lodgings.

As soon as they had got their Prey, they made haste to the fatal Cage, where, at their alighting, the Guards observed the usual Ceremony of putting their Hats before their Hats before their Faces; and then he was conducted to the Governor's Appartment; and there a Handkerchief was ty'd before his Eyes, and he was led into the Room where the Cap'tain found him.

It was about Six of the Clock in the Morning, when he was brought into that dreadful Den, in which they were no Furniture, not so much as a Stone to sit on; and he was left there till Eight at Night, after having taken from him all his Money, several Jewels, and Letters

Letters of Credit on Mess. *Teuton* and *Gaiguien*, noted Bankers in *Paris*.

He had Leisure all that Time to make his Reflections, none of which came near the Point, for he did not know he was in the *Bastille*.

At last, being spent with Weariness, Hunger, and Watching, he with his Hands scraped together all the Dirt in the Place, and made a Sort of Bed of it.

He took off his Coat, and laid upon it, and made a Pillow of his Hat and Wigg, ty'd a Handkerchief about his Head, and laid down in his Waistcoat on that hard Couch; he began to slumber, when the Turnkey brought him a Table and a Chair, with a lighted Candle.

The Rattling and Noise of the Bolts made such a dreadful Clattering, he fancied several Devils were coming into his Den: Soon after followed two other Men, loaded with a Bedstead of Girts, a Straw Bed, a Quilt, a Bolster, two Blankets, a Pair of Sheets, and two Napkins; and the Captain of the Gates after him with another lighted Candle in his Hand, followed by a Servant with his Supper, which was a Piece of cold roast Mutton, a Pound Loaf, a Pint of small Wine, a Pitcher full of Water, a Knife and Fork, and an earthen Chamberpot.

They

They spoke to him, but he not understanding them perfectly, it made the Captain of the Gates laugh heartily, who making a Bow, took his Leave of him, and so shut the Door, and bolted it.

Having neither eat or drank all the Day, he laid his Cloth, and then fell to eating: After which he made a Bed, went into it, and fell into a Slumber, when about three of the Clock, he was awaked by a horrible Noise.

There was some rejoicing, which was occasioned by the firing of the Guns upon the *Bastille*, when poor Mr. *Mertz* thought he should have been killed, the Cannon roared just by him, and there was only the Thickness of the Vault, or Arch, between him and it; the Chambers, by their Violence, crack'd the Arch over his Head, so that abundance of Stones fell in within a Foot of his Bed.

I leave any Body to think what a Fright this must put a Youth into, who knew not where he was, who heard the Noise of the Cannon and the Stones, and every Minute expecting to be buried in the Ruins of his Den, and that this Place was to become his Sepulchre; he said, he thought they were going to blow him up.

About seven in the Morning the Turnkeys brought him a Pint of Wine; Mr. *Mertz* shewed him the Stones that had fallen in, and endanger'd battering his Bed, who returned no Answer than laughing at him; in short, he continued

continued here about six Months without knowing where he was, or what he was there confined for; until one *Daubigny* of the City of *Rheims* was brought into his Apartment, to bear him Company.

This was a lusty black Man, and black Man, and one of the Clerks to the Subdelegate, mentioned in the Affair of Mons. *L'apenty*; who was persecuted on Account of his Knavery, in the Enquiry after *Gentility*, and would have swung for it, if Justice had taken place; he informed Mr. Mertz about the Cannon firing, which was for the Birth of a Princess. In their Discourse, Mr. Mertz gave *Daubigny* to understand, that the Thing which troubled him most, was the Lady that he was so passionately in Love with, was arrived at *Paris*, and who he supposed was under the same Hardship as himself.

He shewed him a Ring she had given him with her Name engraved on it, which had escaped the Officers, when he was searched and his Money and Jewels taken from him at his first coming in, which he always wore next his Heart; *Daubigny* covered the Ring, and finding him very desirous of sending some Account of himself to the Lady, if possible, and to his Father at *Hanbaub*, the other professing a great Respect for him, promised to search for Miss *Lorn*, and her Uncle the Marquis, at the Hotel *Danchrat*, in *Paris*, aforesaid; so soon as he could be at Liberty, or else to write to them,

them, to the several Places he left them at, but fearing he might forget *Madam Lorne's* Name, which was engraved in the Ring, in was requisite he should lend it to him, in order to put the Direction on the Letter, he was to write to her, and as soon as he should be discharged, he would endeavour to procure him his Liberty, having, as he said, great Interest at Court, and then he would return him the Ring, for which he had so great a Value, on Account of the Person that gave it to him.

Mr. Meritz, who would have parted from any thing to have made his Condition known to his Father and Mistress, and to get out of that horrid Place, gave the Ring to *Dunbigny*, who never returned it, or sent any Letters to Mr. Meritz's Father, as he had promised.

Dunbigny told him, that he had been tried the same Time that *Mons. L'apenty* was tried, but not kneeling before the Judges, as the other had done; he was only sent for to the Court, who made Apologies for confining him, it being the Maxim of that Court to confine the Innocent, with the Guilty, in order to get at the Bottom of the whole Offence; however, the Turnkey told him afterwards, that the Clerk was (after some short Time) released.

The

The first Favour Mr. Mertz did the Captain, who to clip his Beard with a Pair of Scissars, which he did so neatly, that it would have been difficult for an able Barber, to do it better with a Razor; in return for this Favour, the Captain taught him the Secret to get a larger Portion of Wine, by insisting on it in the same Manner as Mons. *L'apenty* had done, in the other Place, as is before mentioned, and being a Stranger, the Captain recommended it to him, to insist on having some of his Money returned, and that he might be at Liberty to send into the City for such Provisions as he liked, and that it might be dressed after his own Way or Country Fashion: However, the Governor would not permit it, till at last, Application was made to old *D'argenson*, who having received a Compliment from the young German, *that he hoped he had fallen into the Hand of a true Frenchman*: Who being ask'd the Meaning, said, *that the French Nation was celebrated through the whole World, for being courteous to Strangers*, which so tickled the Vanity of the Old Frenchman, that he granted Mr. Mertz's Request, and order'd the Governor from Time to Time, should for that End, deliver to Mr. Mertz a sufficient Part of his Money, to be laid out by *Roger* the Turnkey; then Mr. Mertz desired the Turnkey to let the Major know, that he wanted to speak to him, who being informed it was to receive a Present, he immediately came us; when Mr. Mertz told the

the Major, that since *Mont. D'argenson*, had order'd him to have his Money, and from Time to Time to buy such Provisions as he liked, he intreated the Major to do him the Honour, as to accept of one of his Diamond Rings; which the other, with an affected Reluctancy, was prevailed on to accept; after which, he took an Opportunity to ask the Major if they could not be removed into a more commodious Apartment? who told them all the Chambers were full, and that so soon as a better offered, they should have it.

In short, they fared well at the Expence of Mr. *Mertz's* Purse; they did not want Pigeons, Capons, Wild-fowl, Sweet-meats, or any thing else; they scarce meddled with the Allowance of the *Bastille*, which pleased *Roger the Turnkey*, who was not content with his Perquisites, but would now and then make free with the Niceties of the two Gentlemen, and guzzle down two or three Quarts of their Wine. At last Mr. *Mertz's* Money was almost gone, when with much Difficulty the Governor was prevail'd on to send the Letter of Credit to Mess. *Tourton* and *Gueguler* the Bankers, who immediately answered that they were ready to advance one thousand Lewis D'Ors, for Mr. *Mertz*.

Thus

Thus Money being plenty, Mr. Mertz called away for Wines and Provisions, and Roger took Care to make his Market of him, for he would sometimes bring Wine of Six Sols the Bottle, for Champaign Wine of Twenty Sols the Bottle; scurvy Apples, which scarce Pigs would eat, for Golden Runnets, old tough Flens, for Polards, and so of other Things, which obliged them to come to a Regulation with him, not caring to make any Complaints to the Governor, lest they should be deprived of that Privilege, Mr. Mertz told Roger that he would allow him to charge one Third more of the Price for every thing he bought, provided it was the best; to which Roger agreed; but now and then he could not forbear imposing on them.

But they had not continued long in the better Situation of being so supplied before Mr. Mertz was taken ill of a Fever, by living more luxurious than before, and was attended by the Physician and Surgeon of the Castle, who would not permit him to have those Medicines he directed for himself, being better skill'd in Physick than either of them; for they bled him four Times in the left Foot, and only gave him Bouillion, or light Broth; which Practice, or Prescriptions, are not suitable to the phlegmatick German Constitution, so that at last he grew light-headed, and in about four Days after expired; and was buried without any Funeral Ceremony, sew'd up in a Rug, on the

No 20. U Ramparts

Ramparts of the City, amongst the *damn'd Hereticks*, which is the Epithet they give to all those of the Reformed or Protestant Religion.

Sure this Instance alone is enough to set the Hearts of all *Englishmen* against the pernicious Tenets of Popery and their arbitrary Practices: to see a learned hopeful young Man, the only Child of a Gentleman of Fortune, and the Beloved of a fair Lady, wrested out of the World by such Cruelty; and indeed his Father and the Lady laid his Death and ignominious Burial so to Heart, that they did not long survive him.

The poor Captain, by the Death of Mr. Mertz. not only lost a Companion, but likewise the good Cheer which the other used to buy, so that he began to grow very melancholy, and often intreated Roger the Turnkey, to represent the lonesome Situation to the Governor, and beg of him either to let him have a Companion, or else to let him be removed to another Chamber that was more pleasant and agreeable.

Roger, to divert him for the present, gave him a Sparrow in a little Cage, which the Captain was very fond of, and learn'd it to fly to his Hat, and to do several little diverting Tricks, that help'd to make the Time pass away as agreeable as he could; and the Captain regarded this Compliment from Roger, as an Earnest of his Friendship and good Will to
get

get him favour'd by the principal Officers of the *Bastille*, whenever an Opportunity should happen, which he accordingly did, as will be set forth in the Sequel of these Memoirs.

At length, on one Sunday Morning, the Captain was ordered down to Chapel, where he had an Audience of the Governor, who comforted him in the usual Manner *Prenez Patience Tranquil avez vous. Take Patience, be tranquil*; and told him he would order him into a Chamber where there was good Company.

So after the Mass was over, the Captain was conducted into one of the best Rooms in the *Bastille*, whilst two of the Turnkeys went for his Furniture, which was but small, to carry it to the said Apartment; where they left the Captain very well pleas'd with the Exchange they had made for him.

The Chamber where he was put in was one of the finest in the *Bastille*, if there can be any thing fine in a Prison; it is the third in the Tower, being an *Octolon*, or eight-corner'd, as are most of the Rooms in Towers, about thirteen Foot high, with a handsome Roof, very smooth and clean, about twenty Foot square; it had a great Chimney that seldom smoked, and had a large Window, with Double Rows of Iron Bars before it; through which Bars is a curious Prospect over the Gate and Bulwark of St. Anthony, a great Way into the Suburbs.

Suburbs, and extends its View on the View on the Right and Left of the Jesuit's House, which is appointed for a Pleasure-house of one of that Society, who is the King's Confessor, and which those Reverend Fathers have named *Mount Lewis*, either because his Majesty built that delightful House, or else through the Policy of that cunning Body of Priests, who know how to make the most of every thing; they had likewise an Opportunity to see the People that came to walk in the Garden of the *Bastille*, made on one of the Bulwarks of the Gate.

The Captain was here accommodated with Provisions and other Necessaries much better than he had been before; for the Officer imagined that it was owing to his Advice, that the young *German* had made him the Present of the Diamond Ring beforementioned; the Servant, or Turnkey, behaved himself with greater Respect than usual, and even was so obliging, as to cover his Table at Dinner, made his Bed, empty his Chamber-pot, and do other kind Offices to him, and told him one Day with a Whisper, that he would not forget his kind Civilities to him, in passing his Accounts with Mr. Mertz the *German*, without making Complaints to the Governor, of the small Over-charge for his Wine, Fowls, Fruit, and other Things. For says *Roger* to him, Sir, as we are at some Trouble to go into the City to buy these Things, for which we have no addi-

tional

tional Pay, either from the King or Governor; therefore, I don't doubt, Sir, but you think the Labourer is worthy of his Hire, and it is but reasonable I should be satisfied for my Trouble, either by a present, or else to get it by an Increase or Over-charge in the Provisions or Things I buy. The Captain found it was his Interest to keep a good Harmony with Roger; told him, what he said was Right, applauded his Management, and further added, that by such a Method of getting his Perquisites, he was not liable to be charged with Bribery or Extortion. By this Behaviour of the Captain to Roger, and his Respects to the Governor and Officers, he began to be looked upon by the *Lieutenant du Roy*, the Major and the Captain of the Gates, to be a Person whom they could trust with wealthy Prisoners, to remind them that a Present was always gratefully acknowledg'd, and proper Favours and Returns made.

In some few Days, Roger and his Assistants introduc'd into the Captain's Apartment four Persons, with Furniture for them all, with Necessaries much better than what the Captain had seen before; and soon after their Dinner was brought in, and set upon the Table, which consisted of a Soup, a Bouillion with toasted Bread, boiled Beef and Mustard, a Fricaslee of Fowls, some Pies, a Fowl, and Roast Mutton, with a Sallad, and Plate of Apples, Pears and Plumbs, for a Dessert, and a Quart of Wine for

for each Person; and after the Turnkeys had withdrawn, shut and bolted the Doors, they could not forbear shewing the Elevation of Spirits they were in, to have so much Conversation; and as they were interrogating one another in the usual manner, *Who are you? How come you here? and for what Cause?* they heard a Clattering of the Keys, which startled them, lest they should be parted again; and presently the Doors were opened, when in came Roger, who told them he had brought them another Prisoner, who was willing, by the Governor's Consent, to act as a *Serviteur* to them; and then introduced the Person, who made his Honours with a Gentleman like Air. The Captain and his new Comrades could not but look upon this new Companion, or *Serviteur*, with Compassion, and whose Name was *Jean Lewis Blanch*; he was all over Rags, his Hat was full of Holes, which scarce could be perceived to have been black, for as he said, it had been for two Years past his Hat and Night Cap. There were only a few strait Hairs left strolling in the Cawl of his old Campaign Wig, which was so greasy, that they could scarce discern any Net-work, and had not been combed for several Years; an old Sleeve of a Shirt served him for a Cravat, but of a yellow and black Hue, with Dirt and Sweat; his Coat all in Tatters, tho' held together by a hundred Pieces of cloth of different shades, so that it was difficult to know the Original; his

his Shirt was of the same Dye with his Cravat, and appeared in several Holes that were in his Breeches; the biggest Piece in his Stockings did not appear to be an Inch long: the Soles and upper Leathers of his Shoes all full of Holes, held together by Packthread, and mended in several Places by Scraps of old Gloves. This poor unhappy Man's Face, tho' full, and swoln with Hardships, was tanned and disfigured, and covered with a thick bushy Beard, upon which one of the four Persons, who was named, William Du Bois, a Priest from a Convent near St. Cloud, where stands the Palace belonging to the House of Orleans, asked why he could not bring a more slightly or clean Person for a Serviteur into the Chamber, amongst Persons of their Rank and Station in Life; Gentlemen, said Roger, it is what the Governor has order'd, to which you must submit.

Mons. *Blanch* being sensible of the deplorable Condition he was in, might give them some Uneasiness, told them that though his Cloaths looked like those of an Outlaw, yet he was an honest Man, and if they would be easy with him, he was fully persuaded that they would be better content with him; and further added, that he was not long to stay with them, for he was sentenced to the Gallies with the next Convoy. But on Account of his Family, he was to continue in the *Bastille*, and not to go chained with the Slaves or Convicts in the
Commons

Common Gaols ; upon which the Captain and his Companions got up and embraced him, then asked him to partake of what remain'd on the Table ; when *Roger* told them that he should report their Submission and Civility to the Governor, who, he was satisfied, would be pleas'd therewith ; then took his Leave and shut the Door. After they had all drawn round the Table near the Fire-place, where were five Billets, which was the Allowance of the Day, from the Governor, and if any of the Prisoners wanted more, they must give the Turnkey Money to buy it for them.

Monf. Blanch swore that he had not seen a fire for two Years, which surprized the others a little ; though they had all been, in their different Times, treated with very great Hardships. One of the Prisoners presented him with two *Pettit Patties*, or little Meat Pies, which he swallowed almost without chewing ; they then presented him with the Wing of 1 Fowl, of which the miserable Creature made but a Mouthful ; then they gave him some boil'd Beef, roasted Mutton and Salad ; also filled him a Couple of Glasses of Wine, whilst all the Time he gazed on the Table with great Astonishment, not having seen a Table so sumptuously furnished for many Years, whereupon they asked him what he had for Dinner ? Alas ! reply'd *Monf. Blanch*, a little boil'd Cabbage Soup, and two Ounces of Meat, worse than they give to the Soldiers. These
Gentlemen

Gentlemen have been starving me these five Years; but I am come out of a Room where there are Prisoners worse used than myself; and one of them is an hundred times more miserable, for he has lost his Senses; he had been several Years with only a Gown and a ragged Pair of Breeches; and had not I relieved a poor Wretch they had given him for a Comrade, he had suffer'd the same Fate, and fallen into a terrible Frenzy, for when I came from the Chamber he had some Symptoms of it.

When they had warmed him well, and made him eat and drink more than enough, for his Greediness made him apprehensive that over-eating might do him harm, and having told him who he were (which shall be set forth in a particular manner hereafter) they ask his Country, and the Occasion of his being in such a miserable Condition: the Answer that Monsieur *Blanch* gave them, was.

That he was a Native of the Town of *Diep* in *Normandy*, Son to a considerable Merchant, who left the Family an Estate sufficient to live upon, in a credible Manner; but being of the reformed Religion, his Father sent him to study at *Geneva*, to advance him in the Ministry; but the Persecution against the Protestants in *France*, having obliged most of them to go into foreign Countries, instead of returning to *Diep* he went into *Holland*, and repaired to the *Hague*, where he had an Uncle a Minister of

Gospel, whose Name was *James Blanch*, and several other Relations, easy in their Fortunes; have Occasion to present himself to the Church, and he received as an Assistant, to get some Employment; but he found Charity cold; *Holland*, tho' full of Riches, did not answer his Expectations.

Having in vain tried all Ways to get a livelihood, he was obliged to carry a Musket; that his Uncle was so kind as to recommend him to *Mynheer Vaudercot*, in whose Regiment he was admitted as a *Cadet*, to have common Soldiers Pay, where he continued several Years; but in a Skirmish he was taken Prisoner, and carry'd to *Lille*, where by un-heard-of Inhumanities, they compelled him to lift in the Troops of *France*.

He was conducted to the Regiment of *Ricardo*, which at that Time lay at *Gravelin*; the first Time he was muster'd, by good Luck, the Commissary was a near Relation of his Mother, who order'd him out of the Ranks, and procured him a Discharge.

Being resolv'd not to turn *Roman Catholic*, his Brother agreed to allow him a small Pension, and sent him to *Paris*, thinking he might be better concealed there than in any other Part of the Kingdom; but his Hostess with whom he lodged, having found that he was of the reformed Religion, and suspecting he had acquainted her Husband with an amorous Intrigue she had with another Lodger, went and discovered

discovered him to Mons. D'Argeson the Lieutenant de Police, who caused him to be taken up and brought into the Bastille.

Soon after he was committed, he was persuaded to change his Religion, with a Promise of his being restored to his Liberty, and to have a good Employ; but the Confessor and the Governor finding him steady to his Principles, grew enraged at him in the highest Degree, and protested that he should not be admitted to make his Abjuration when he had a mind to it, and caused him to be conducted to the Room from whence he came; where, if he had not been particularly favoured by God, and a strong Constitution of Body, he must have inevitably perished; that finding all their Arguments and fair Promises to change his Religion were of no Effect, he was brought to his Trial, and condemned to be sent to the Gallies.

He told the Captain and his Comrades, that when he went into the Room at first, he was startled at the Sight of a Man stark naked, and another walking up and down the Room with only a rugged Nightgown on; he would fain have gone out, when the Major in a Fury thrust him in, and shut the Door, without listening to what he had to say; upon which he swooned away, and fell upon the Straw, where one of the Men was half buried; the poor Wretches took hold of him, and, with some Difficulty, brought him to himself; and told him that he had been senseless half an Hour

Hour, without any Symptoms of Life. They had poured a great Pitcher of Water on his Face, so that he found himself dropping wet from Head to Foot, between two Men, one of whom was quite naked, and the other was still quite naked, and the other was covered with a Morning Gown; and this was in the Christmas Hollidays, which made every Limb of him quake with Cold; when his poor ragged Comrade endeavoured to comfort him as much as he could, and gave him to understand, that he stood in Need of a great Stock of Patience, not to sink in that Place of Despair, where he had been confined three Years, without having been able to acquaint his Wife that he was in the Bastille, who would, doubtless, had she known it, use all her Endeavours to have got him restored to his Liberty.

When he had recovered himself, he asked who he was, and why he was confined in that miserable Condition. After fetching a deep Sigh, he said his Name was *Charles Farquar*, that he was a Non-Commission Officer in the Guards, and the Son of a substantial Citizen, a Mercer at *Lions*; Libertinism made him despise his Father's Profession, and therefore betook himself to Arms, the Refuge of all Debauchees; that after several Campaigns, he got into the Guards; that he often resorted to a Grocer's Shop in *Paris* to get Brandy, that was sold by an agreeable Widow, who liked him

him so well as to marry him, nor all her Favours, could draw him from his wild Practices, which were become so natural to him, that he followed his old Comrades; and to be nearer them, he list'd himself again in the same Regiment, and there spent her Substance in such a riotous Manner, that some of her Relations, (who were Guardians for her only Son) a Commissary (which is like a Justice of Peace) reprimanded him severely when he was upon the Point of getting his second Discharge which she had undertaken to do, upon his promise of living more regularly for the future; and had made such a Progress in it as to have agreed with his Captain, and only waited for the Consent of the Field Officer.

One Morning in the Depth of Winter, as he lay in Bed with his Wife, at Break of Day, he heard a Knocking at his Shop-door, which is at the Corner of the Street of our Lady's Church; and thinking they were some of the Workmen of that Cathedral, that wanted Brandy, he had not Time to put any thing on but his Gown, Breeches, and Slippers; he having opened the Shop the Shop, when immediately four Men seized him, and shov'd him into a Coach, and brought him to that Place, and put him there to the other Person, who is a Mad-man, and who by his Follies and Extravagancies has crack'd his Brains; and tho' it was in the cold Season, he could get no other Cloaths, notwithstanding he often apply'd for
and

and when he applied to Major, or Lieutenant *Du Roy*, they told him, that his Companion did well enough without, and that he ought not to be tenderer than he.

All the Favour they granted him, was to allow him three Trusses of clean Straw to lie on, which they charged once in six Months, and likewise gave him a Rag full of Moles.

He said, that he had in vain intreated the Officers of the *Bastille* to let him know for what Crime he was committed for, and that done with Tears in his Eyes, and in such a moving Manner as would have softened a Turk, but they rejected his Request with such Harshness as would have provoked a Saint to Rashness.

He said, that in his Confinement, he had Leisure to reflect, and call over in his Mind all the past Transactions of his Life, but cou'd not conceive he had done any thing so wicked as to deserve that severe Confinement; he thought his Wife's Brother, the Commissary, might have apply'd to the Lieutenant *de Pellice* to have him secured; but since his Confinement he hath found otherwise: one Day, when he went to mount Guard at *Versailles*, he was drinking in a Tavern with some of his Comrades (his Wife, who was most affectionately fond of him, having put a *Lewis d'Or*, into his Pocket for his Expence) they drank very plentifully, and began to sing some merry Songs; and in the Heat of their Cups, he sung

a

Song that reflected on the Cardinal and his favourite Lady, which was often sung in the Streets of *Paris* by the Children; a Footman of that Lady, who was at another Table in the same Room, came and looked him in the Face, and charged the Master of the House to learn his Name, and what Company and Regiment in the Guards he belong'd to; the Host gave him Notice of it, and told him it might be attended with ill Consequences; he paid his Score, and went out of the Tavern directly.

Mons. *Blanch* further added, that he queried whether the Cardinal's Lady be guilty of such a Piece of Revenge, so unworthy her Quality for she was Niece to the Dutchess of *Main*; for (said he) we read in our History, that one Day *Catherine de Medices*, Queen Consort to *Henry the Second of France*, and Mother to three Kings whom she governed, and thereby drew on her much Envy; hearing one Day some Soldiers who were roasting a Goose near her Appartment speaking some Things that were very provoking, and highly reflecting on her Management, was satisfy'd with opening the Window, and said to those poor Fellows, *Who do you talk so ill of your poor Queen Catherine, who does you no wrong? It is she that pays you so well, and is the Occasion of your roasting your Goose.*

Whereupon

Whereupon the King of Navarre, who was with her, and had heard the foul Language of those Fellows, offered to go out, and to have them punished; she held him by the Arm, and said Brother, let alone such Wretches, our Anger is not to stoop so low as them; and yet our great Historians called her the Fury of France, which she rent without Mercy. And can any one persuade me that a Lady of such a high Birth and sublime Genius as the Niece to the Dutchess of Main would stoop down to a Soldier, and cause him to be punished for a Song, sung even in the Height of Diquor, and inflict upon him for it, a Punishment more cruel than Death!

Nothing is more certain, reply'd Mounseir Farquar, and so I was convinced, for whilst he and Mons. Blanch were in that Appartment together, he was one Day called down for Examination, by Monsieur D'Argeson, who asked him in a sneering Manner, whether he would sing any more Songs that reflected on Persons of Quality.

Mons. Farquar then found for what he was confined; and knew that the Denial might aggravate the Offence, and cause greater Severities, and therefore acknowledged his Fault, apologized for his Indiscretion, and said, what he had done was when he had been warm with Liquor, that he meant no harm; to which Mons. D'Argeson replied.

As you did it when you was warm with Wine, it was necessary to take a Method to cool you; and though you think it no Harm, yet you know, Sir, that the Characters of Persons of their high Quality are sacred in France, and are to be touch'd on by such People as you.

Mr. Farquar's Wife, about four Years fruitless Enquires, being informed by a Prisoner, who was acquitted of the Crime laid to him, and released out of the *Bastille*; and with whom he had some Communication, that her Husband was shut up there, went to enquire after him, but was told by the Officers and Servants several Times that he was not there; but the other Person still insisting of it, and describing both him and his Morning Gown, with some other Passages and Circumstances relating to her Family, and of that Nature, that she was sure they could not be communicated to him but by her Husband.

She went and cast herself at the Feet of the Duchess of *Berry*, Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*, late Regent of *France*, between whom and the Duchess of *Main* and the Cardinal, there was not any good Harmony; the Duchess told her, she could not do it without being being apprised of his Crime, but told her in a gracious Manner, that she would immediately dispatch her Master of Horse to the Lieutenant of the *Police*, and get an Order for her and her Husband to have an Hour's free Conversation by themselves, without any Body

in the Chamber; and by that Means she might come to the Knowledge of his Crime.

And she farther added, that she would take an Opportunity to learn for what Offence he was committed, by *Mons. D'Argenson*; and order'd her to stay in the Anti-chamber till her Servant returned; accordingly her Serene Highness (who was a Princess of the Blood by her Father's Side, and was married to the young Grandson of *Lewis*.) sent her Master of the Horse to *Mons. D'Argenson* for the Order; and on hearing a Messenger come from *Madam the Duchess of Berry*, he flung aside all Business, to write out the Order, and told the Gentleman that he need not stay, for he would do himself the Honour to carry the Permission to her Highness himself; which, accordingly, in less than half an Hour he went with it to the *Palace Royal*, where her Highness was; but his Royal Highness the Duke of *Orleans* coming in, she had not Leisure to receive *Mons. D'Argenson*, but desired him to call upon her in a Day or two, and should be glad to see him; and so sent out the Order for *Mrs. Farquar* to be permitted to see her Husband in the *Bastille*; accordingly *Mrs. Farquar* went the next Morning to the *Bastille*, and after being searched for Papers, she was admitted to see her Husband, who was brought down into the Chamber where she was conducted in: the sight of whose dismal Aspect, melancholy Condition, and Transport of seeing her

her Beloved, that she had been so long seeking after, without knowing whether he was dead or alive, maid her faint away, so that her Husband the Major had much ado to bring to bring her again to Life; and then the Major lock'd them together in the Room, where he endeavour'd by all the endearing Expressions his Love and the Occasion, to comfort her; he protested to her, that his former Follies had laid verw heavy upon his Mind, to think upon his Mind, to think that he had treated a Wife so ill, that had been so kind and liberal to him; and that if ever he should be so happy as to be restored to his Liberty and her Arms, he would become a new Man, and make her the most endearing Husband as could be.

He then told her for what he wa sent there; and earnestly desired her to recommend him to her Brothe, so as to pass over all his former Follies, and to interest himself on his Behalf, to get him his Liberty.

She let her Husband know the Surprize they were under when the first missed him; that an Officer came to her, who belonged to the Regiment, to enquire after him, and searched the House all over to find him, and said that he was returned to the Secretary of War a Deserter, and that the Officer would take to see him punished, if he was taken, being, as she supposed, vexed at the Discharge; she then informed him, that one Morning early her Husband

band was knock'd up by some Customers, as he thought; and that she never saw him after, and thought he had been murder'd and flung into the River *Seine*, that she had employed several Bargemen to search after him, and also had given Notice to the Watchmen of *Paris* for the same Purpose, and promised a Reward to any body that could give Intelligence of him.

Whilst Mr. *Farquar's* Wife was entertaining him in this Discourse, the Major came and opened the Door of the Room, and told them the Hour was expired, from the Time of her Admission, when Madam, smiling in his Face, and giving him a Tap, said, Sir, *we were to be an Hour alone*, and that during her swooning the Major was there, which took up a quarter Part of the Time, so that they were not together alone a full Hour; the Major told her that the Rules and Orders of that Prison were strictly to be observ'd.

But with her Perswasions and an unufal Complaisance, he left them alone a little longer; and then returned with two Servants to conduct Mr. *Farquar* to his Den, whilst the Major led Madam to the Gates of the *Bastille*, where a Coach waited for her, promising at the same Time, to do himself the Honour to call upon her, and in the mean Time to be kind to her Husband.

Madam

Madam *Farguar* went dierectly to wain on the *Duchels* of *Berry*, who was gone to *St. Clouds*, where, after she had waited in the *Anti-chamber* a little Time, she was introduced to her Highness, who was in the *Grand Sall*, and then, by the *Duteness's* Order, sat down on a *Stool*, to tell her the whole Affair; she first represented the Manner in which her Husband was arrested, the Treatment he met with in the *Basille*, the deplorable Condition she found him in, and the Crime of which he was committed.

The *Dutchess* told her, that to be sure it was a very great Fault for her Husband to make himself free with the Characters of the Nobility; but as it was about the Cardinal's Favourite (to whom she had no good Will) and who had full Power to give Orders to send Persons to Prison, she apprehended it might be attended with some Difficulty to get her Husband released; because of all the People in the World, she thought it beneath her high Birth, to ask any Favour from a haughty Priest, who she both hated and despised, and who had made himself scandalous by his Amours and Intrigues; for the Cardinal got his Rise by intriguing for her Father, the *Duke of Orleans*, to whom he was Preceptor.

However, said her Highness, your Husband hath suffered enough for his Folly, and I will represent his Case to my Father, who I don't doubt will in a little Time procure him some Relief.

Relief, which the Dutchess accordingly did the same Day, and at last obtained an Order of the King, who directed the Chancellor to set M. Farquar at Liberty.

Nevertheless the Officers detained him a whole Year longer, tho' his Wife had Leave to come and see him three Times a Week; I saw her above ten Times, for Roger who conducted her to the Stairs before our Room, to see her Husband, whom he carried out from amongst us for that Purpose, fell asleep on the Steps whilst they were talking together, and whilst he slept Mons. Farquar opened our Door a little, that I might see her; she is a very fine lovely pleasant Woman, who seems to be very virtuous, and can never be sufficiently commended for what she has done for her Husband; having found him in that tatter'd Condition, she brought him a very handsome Suit of Cloaths, Linnen, and a good Bed; she never came to see him without bringing something, either a roasted Capon or Turkey, or a Cake, or a Basket of Fruit, and always some Bottles of the best Wine: She never ceased waiting on the Dutchess, who at last spoke to the King herself, and told the Chancellor, *The King had ordered that unfortunate Man to be set at Liberty, whom she had taken into her Protection; and that if he did not cause him to be discharged, her Royal Highness would lay the Blame on him, and require Satisfaction of the King.*

This *Madam Farquar* told her Husband one Friday Morning, when she brought him an Eel Pie (which *Roger* open'd) and two Bottles of *Burgundy* Wine; she also told him that *Monf. d'Argenson* had sent for her to his House the Day before, and after having treated her with a Haughtiness unbecoming a Magistrate, and to a Person under the Royal Protection with which she was honoured. He talked to her in this Mauner, 'Then, Madam, if you will
' have your Husband again in spite of me, you
' shall have him; but tell him, that the first
' Step he takes amiss, I will cause him to be
' hang'd; see whether you will have him upon
' those Terms; and so dismissed her with Indig-
' nation.

It was on a Saturday Night that *Monf. de Argenson* sent for *Mon. Farquar* down in the Council Chamber, and spoke to him much to the same Effect; and after having made him lift up his Hand and swear, *He would say nothing of what is done in the Bastille*, and oblig'd him to sign the Protestation, acknowledging that he had been treated according to the King's Intention, he sent him back to the same Room where he still was when I came away; but it is likely he is now at Liberty.

He is a Man very well shaped, six Foot high, and very good natur'd; but was sadly out of Order when I (says *Mr. Farquar*) was put to him, and was doubtless in a Way to lose his Senses, having fretted himself beyond mea-

ure, had not I comforted him; and were it not for the Joy of seeing his Wife again, who entirely recovered him and me to; for had she come three Months later, we had been both dead; and God bless her for her Care. Here Mr. Blanch was going to stop, when the Captain took an Opportunity to ask a Description of the other Man that he found in the Chamber out of his Senses.

The Mad-man, replies Mr. Blanch, who was with us, is very well shaped and proportionable, his Body very white and nervous, his Hair of a light Brown curling, which he pleats together with his Beard, that is long and of the same Colour; he has been naked above seven Years, without enduring any Cloaths; his Name is *Lewis Rouget*, of the City of *Morlaix* in Britany; he was brought up in the Army, and was appointed as eldest Captain to command a Battalion of the Regiment of *Chartres*, at the siege of *Mons*; his Company was there quite ruin'd and he dangerously wounded.

He came to make Application to the Minister of War for some Supply to make up his Company; but instead of being rewarded as he expected, he was cashier'd; he in vain got the General Officers to speak in his Behalf, who attested that he was a brave Soldier, having always done his Duty with great Exactness.

He

He was born of a Family suspected to be of the reformed Religion ; and being one Day asked for his Ticket that is generally given at *Easter* by the Priest, to those who confess, he could not produce it ; and it appeared that some of his former Tickets were obtained without Confession, or Libertine Monks or Friars, for Money ; and that he had in Custody a Treatise written by *Luther*, and for which he was seized and sent to the *Bastille* ; the Shock of which, and the Apprehension of his Punishment, turned his Brain ; but some of the Clergy imagined it was only an affected Delirium, and that he acted the Mad-man to save himself from Punishment ; but they no longer questioned the Truth of the Matter, when they found that he had not only torn his Cloaths in Pieces, but also his Body, from which Streams of Blood run on all sides ; that they had been obliged to chain him down, to prevent his dashing out his Brains against the Walls. He tore himself miserably with his Teeth and Nails, without enduring any Cloaths on, or lying on a Bed, which he tore to Pieces when given him : He became so outrageous, that for above six Months no Man durst go into the Place where he was shut up ; and they were obliged to make a Hole in the Door to put Bread and Water in, and that he devoured with such Fury, and behaved so to the Turnkeys that he made them tremble. Neverthe-

less, the Officers of the *Bastille* were so cruel, as to put in a Companion to him.

M. *Farquar* was not the first, as he told me; it was one Father *Patrick Plunket*, a Friar from the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and had been Chaplain in the Army under the Command of Marshal *Berwick*; he was sent to the *Bastille* for a Rape he committed on a young Woman that lived in an Inn where he was quartered, in the Province of *Languedoc*; and not liking the Behaviour of the Major of the *Bastille* to him [for he imagined that by his spiritual Function he was intitled to more Liberties than the other would permit him to have] and some Words arising, the sturdy Friar collared the Major in such a manner, that he was forced to call out for Assistance of the Guard, who always waits at the Bottom of the Stair-case, when the Officers go to visit the Prisoners, for fear of Accidents, and thereby the Major prevented a Treshing from the militant Priest; but for his Punishment, after having been kept in Irons a Year, he was turned into the Room and exposed to the Fury of Captain *Rouget*, the Major telling him that he could not exert his Strength and Talents better than to convert that Heretic: The Friar by his venerable Appearance and Strength, in some measure got the Ascendency over *Rouget*, who grew tamer in favour of the sanctified Character of his Associate; they grew so well acquainted together, that when

when the Governor had any Prisoner that he designed to chastise, *some barded reformed Person*, as he called them, he shut them up with the *Irish Friar*, and *French Mad-man*, who, besides being of the Religion of the *Adamites*, being naked, seldom allowed his Comrades to take any Rest; ne every Night run over all his Adventures confusedly; sometimes fell into raging Fits, whilst the Friar, to pacify him, talked of Mortification, Pennance, Humility, and counting of Beads; and when he talked of the *Virgin Mary* and the *Bon Dieu* in the Eucharist, the Mad man would burst out into violent Fits of Laughter, calling the whole a Farce, and threatened to thresh the Friar if he talked so much Nonsense to him; and before the Friar went out of the Prison, the Madman, in his lucid Intervals, used such Arguments as brought the Friar into a real Belief that his Religion was a trump-up Piece of Pageantry, and an Imposition on Mankind.

With these two Men, says *Monf. Blanch*, I have described, was I shut up, and with whom I suffered more Hardship than was ever known to *Nero*, or *Domitian's* Ministers of Cruelty; and had been for a Year inclinable to turn *Roman Catholick*; at the same time he knew he should wrong his Conscience, but it was to get out of that Hell, and hoped God would pity his Weakness, and shew Mercy to him, and fell a crying; however the Captain and Comrades comforted him, and then filled him up a Glass

of Wine, and gave it to him, with another Plate of Provisions; for, alas! had the poor Man ate nothing but what the Turnkeys brought him, he must certainly have sunk under it; for, excepting the Bread, and a little Bottle of Wine, all his Food was not worth one Penny. At Noon they brought him a little Bread steeped in boiled Water, which they called Soup, with an Ounce or two of Beef in it, from which the Gravey had been squeezed for the Officers Table; and at Night they brought him a Bone of Mutton, with some, but very little Meat upon it, and a Sallad and Vinegar. However, as he came to be a *Serviteur* to the Captain and his Companions, some of whom had obtained Permission to send the Turnkey into the City of Paris to buy other Provisions and Liquors than what are provided in the *Bastille*, particularly one of the Gentlemen, who was the Marquis *de la Venteur*, a Gentleman of a generous Spirit, and came from *Soissons*, where he had a large Seignory of his own, and the Power of Life and Death, did not let them want the most delicious Things, the best of Wines, and all Sorts of *Ratafi* & *Eaux de Vie*, which he knew himself how to make to Perfection; and he bestowed Plenty of all those Sorts of Delicacies, not only in common among his Companions, but in the upper and under Room in the Tower, which he sent with such Generosity as the other could not sufficiently commend; at least, that was his Inten-

tion; but that Villain, Roger the Turnkey, deceived him, and told him the Gentlemen thanked him for his Presents, but kept them all for himself, (as was discovered some time after by a Communication which the Captain had with some of them, after that Nobleman was sent out of the Bastille) notwithstanding the Marquis, to engage him to serve him zealously and diligently, had loaded him with Presents, and allowed him, without complaining, to embezzle some of his Linnen; and before he left that Apartment, he gave him a scarlet Cloak, with no other Prospect, than to oblige him to be kind to them, as having no more need for it himself, being assured of his Liberty, nor did he miss any Day making that Monster of Cruelty, drink plentifully of his choice Liquors.

On Saturday, as they were going to sit down at Table, they called down the Marquis *de la Venteur*, and brought him back again in an Hour, pale and trembling. After the Turnkey had shut the Door upon them, and they had recovered him, they asked him the Reason of his Fright. *I have good Reason*, says the Marquis, *for I have seen the Devil, and I have no less Reason to be disturbed, for I am informed that I am to be delivered out of Hell*; upon their hearing this agreeable News, they redoubled the Dose of Comfort, by drinking towards his good Health, and then he gave
them

them the following Account of this Adventure.

When I came to the Bottom of the Stairs (says the Marquis) I met the Lieutenant *du Roy*, wha gave me his Hand, as if it had been to a Bride; having saluted him, I asked what they wan ed with me, but without returning any Answer he led me to a great Hall, where I found *Monf. D'Argenson*, the Lieutenant of the Police sitting with his Back to the Fire, about whom stood several Persons unknown to me; that Minister was in his black Robes, which made me say, *I had seen the Devil*; for if he is not a Devil, he is as black and as ugly. He writ for some Time, without lifting up his Eyes to look at me, whilst another Man, who had also a black Robe on, and who I was informed, was the Commissary of the *Bastille*, stood before him, without moving any more than a Statue.

In one Corner of the Room was another little Man, writing on a Table, and who I was told, was *Monf. D'Argenson's* Secretary; at a little Distance was the *Griffier* writing; the Governor and end the Major stood bareheaded, looking down, as did the Captain of the Gates and some others; on a sudden the Lieutenant *de Police* stood up, and looking on me with such a Countenance, as was sufficient at least to make a childing Woman miscarry, began to interrogate me in this Manner:

What

What do you do here?

Alas, my Lord, said he, I endure great Afflictions.

Are you resolved to persist in the Errors of *Calvinism*? Have not you, my Lord, been told by the Officers, that I have been a long Time desiring to abjure? Yes, said he, you was not then thoroughly converted.

Alas! my Lord, said I, the *Bastille* alone is sufficient to convert any. But there is another Matter in Question, continued he, and for which you deserve to be hang'd, only it was for the Salvation of your Soul that you was brought here, (*which made him tremble*) have not you served his Majesty's Enemies, and were not you taken in Arms against your King, at *Charleroy*? It is true, my Lord, that having withdrawn into *Holland*, upon Account of my Religion, and finding no Encouragement there, I lifted in the Army, but they were not then in War against the King, and when War was declared between *France* and *Holland*, I would have got my Discharge, but was forced to serve against my Will, or else have been put to Death for a Deserter, but I have still served in *France*, and am included in the Amnesty the King has granted to all *Frenchmen*, that have bore Arms against him.

That Mercy of the King's does not extend to you, therefore you deserve to be put to Death, and accordingly I advise you to prepare, for that is your Fate, (*this put him in a*

terrible Fright) he fell on his Knees weeping, and telling him, that the King might do as he pleased, but that he begg'd Mercy; the *Lieu. de Police* told him, that he would procure him a Pardon, upon Condition that he would turn *Roman Calbolick*, and insisted of his giving Security for the Performance of his Promise. Upon which he named a rich Banker in the *Rue Lombard*, and his Brother that lived at *Orleans*, and a Brother-in-law, who is a famous Advocate at *Poitiers*, either of whom he believed would do it, which Names the *Griffier* took down.

The other Comrades had much ado to recover him from his trembling Fit, they thought of nothing but giving him Pienty of Liquor, and congratulating his approaching Liberty, whilst the Captain contrived to make an Advantage of his Discharge, to send an Account of himself to his Wife, and other Friends, that lived at *St. Germain*. One of the Gentlemen had some white Leaves in some Books, viz. the first and last Leaf or two that was not printed on, which the Captain made use of to write to his Wife, and to his Patron, my Lord *Moncassel*; but those Letters were never delivered as directed, in all Likelihood from the Fear of *Mons. Blanch*, whom the Officers did not forget to warn, as they do all Prisoners that get out of their Authority, which is, that if he gave any Advice of us abroad, he would not fail of being brought back,

back, and confined in the *Bastille* all the rest of the Days; and made him take an Oath to observe Secrecy, and accompany'd it with terrible Threats, in case he transgress'd, which deterr'd him; altho' Care was taken to sew the Paper up in his Rags, between the Lining and the Outside of his Coat, and all Precautions us'd that they might at least save some of them.

At length the happy Hour of his Deliverance came; for at Half an Hour past Nine, on a *Saturday*, their Ordinary was not brought till he was gone, that the Governor might have a Meal by him, tho' he was allowed so much for the Day by the King; the Major and Lieutenant *du Roy* found Fault with the others for giving him their Wine; for they had treated him with the utmost Inhumanity, and particularly *Roger*, who searched him every where, all over his Body, for Papers or other Things; and gave him most gross Language, which the poor Man bore with much Christian Patience. They turned him away without Shoes, or permitting the Chevalier to give him any. He received a Note upon Mr. *Arbutnot*, a Banker in *Paris*, to supply him with as much Money as would pay for some Cloaths, and carry him to his Home, which transported the poor Man so, that he could not utter a Word, except, that after they had lovingly embraced him, he turn'd to them just at the Door, with Tears in

his Eyes, saying, *Adieu, my Genrlemen, God blefs you all, and pray for me.*

They made a Festival on his Account, and certainly the Chevalier had great Reason, for if it had not been for this honest Man, he might have staid there longer.

The next Morning, when Roger came into the Room, he said to the Chevalier, *You may thank me for saving you the Money that would have cost you to have cloathed that Scoundrel that went from you Yesterday; it would have been all to you,* But the Chevalier told him, 'that he ought rather to beg Pardon of God; for that he would willingly have paid double the Value for the Things he wanted, rather than he should have gone away in that miserable Condition; that he must answer such Usage to God:'. And so he went out ill satisfied with the Chevalier's Compliment.

At Night, as they were warming themselves at Leasure, they heard at the Chimney a Confusion of Voices of Prisoners that were under them; they ven ur'd to make a Hole in the Chimney, and with some Packthread, made of the Stropples of the Wine they had out of the City, they let down a Note to their Neighbours below, who snatched both the Note and Packthread so violently, that they could not guess at the Cause of them; they writ another, but they were, and desired, if they pleased, they might comfort one another, but they would return no Answer; they they enlarged thier

their Hole, by which Means they could distinctly hear all they said, and distinguished *Monf. Bondroit*, a Physician, Son to a Minister of *Ambusson* in *Auvergne*, and three others; they could perceive that *Monf. Bondroit*, who was of a very mild Temper, had enough to endure with the other three, two of whom were insane in their Minds; one of the Captain's Comrades was very earnest to speak with *Monf. Bondroit*, and at all Hazards venture to speak through the Hold, which he did at an unlucky Minute; it was just as the Captain of the Gates was in the Chamber, when he heard him, and in less than an Hour he came with two Soldiers and the Turnkey, and carry'd him into a Dungeon, where afterwards he languish'd with Despair and Hardship; and in that Room there was introduced into their Company for a Comrade, the *Abbe le Grange*, a nice finical Priest, whose Hat was of a shining Jet; his Wig very fair, and well powder'd; his curious Band set in Print, which the nicest Nun could not have found the least Fault with; his Baudstrings were very spruce; his Silk Stockings very neat; and had Shoes extremely clean.

Roger whisper'd the Captain, that the Priest was one of the best Lads in the *Bastille*, and that they would be pleased with his Company; they stood up to pay their Respects to him, and offer'd him and *Roger* a Glass of Wine, and when *Roger* had withdrawn, and heard the
[C.]

Door, they desired him to sit down; the Priest gave very much a, the Fragments of their Dinner, which were good enough to be coveted by any Person that was Hungry, more especially one sharp set; they ask'd him if he had din'd, and if he would do them the Favour to sit down at the Table with them; I will says he, not stay twice to be intreated, for I perceive, Gentlemen, that you are Persons that live well; I have fed but very poorly since I have been in the Bastille. They brought him the Carcass of a young Turkey, and set him a Chair at the upper End of the Table; he tuck'd his Napkin in his Collar, and fell to work, and soon made a Skelleton of the Carcass; then they put on the Table a large Slice of Roast Meat, some Cheese, and Fruit, of which he made a hearty Meal; and after he had drank about half a Bottle of Wine, his Face grew enflamed, which they thought to be the Effect of the Fire, upon which they had put five or six Billets extraordinary; but his Flights and Extravagances soon undeceiv'd them, for without asking him the History of his Life, he gave it to them of his own Accord.

My Name, says he, was Mons. le Grange, Abbe of St. Winnox by Dunkirk; but as I perceive you are such good Lads, I will not conceive any thing from you; my true Name is Anthony Darluy, Curate of St. Surplice, near Roan in Normandy, which was the third Benefice I have

left for my cursed Gallantries; our good King was much in the wrong in not sending me to America; I should have helped to people the Country there as much as four score Troopers; in less than ten Months there were fifteen Wenchcs of my Parish brought to Bed by my Industry, among whom there was one as beautiful as the Sun, her Name was Maria Le-chang, Sister to a Master Hatter of Roan, who was my Cousin. This, my Lads, without reckoning the Affairs I had in that Time with married Women; for I behav'd myself so well to the Girls in my Parish, that hat they had no cause to find Fault, except three of them, whom I could never bring to bear Reason; and besides, I had Mistresses at the neighbouring Villages. By the Lady. there's a mettlesome Curate!

After making this Confession, he rose up, took one of them by the Hand to make him dance, and perceiving he was not in the Humour, he fell a dancing himself several Minutes, in which he made many Jodicrous Postures; and then fell a Singing several obscene Songs, such as would make the most impudent Varlet blush.

And, said he, I have made the Woman in my Parish dance these Dances, and join a Chorus in these Songs, before and after Vespers; where we had a thousand Frolicks, which we plaid till we were ready to burst.

The

The Hugonot that was in the Room was far from laughing at that antick Priest, but threw himself on the Bed in a melancholy Fit, where he began to lament his Misfortune in being shut up with such frothy Fellow; the Captain stept to him, and took him by the Hand to comfort him, when he said to him.

What for a Man is this! he is more like a Devil than a Priest! Had a Layman been guilty of the tenth Part of the Crimes he boasts of he would have been put to Death; if the Officers leave such a Scoundrel with us, I shall certainly die with Chagrin.

The Captain comforted him, telling him, that he hoped it would be in their Power to turn him out of the Appartment.

The Charitable Curate seem'd to be under some Concern to see the Hugonot lie on the Bed, and asked what he ailed; he told him, that he was out of Order, but that a little Rest might recover him.

Ods blew! says the Priest, let him eat and drink as I have done, let him caper and make a Jest of the Turns of this World, a merry Life and a short one!

The Captain desired the Priest to let them rest a little; and filling out a Bumper or two of Champaign Wine, which addled him a little, he made him sit down by the Fire, and desired him to give him more of his History, which was full of extraordinary Adventures.

The

The *Spanish Rogue*, says the Priest, is nothing to it; I will tell you every Particular, at least very near it; one good Turn deserves another; you shall acquaint us, Mons. *Englishman*, with yours next, which being agreed to, he went on thus; I was born at *Lery*, by *Pont de l' Arche*, near *Roan* in *Norwandy*, being the Son of a good Farmer, belonging to *Cardinal de Roan*.

My Father's Family is one of the best in the Village, and had a genteel Estate; but there being many Children of us, all of whom he brought up handsomely, and spent what he had.

Indeed my elder Brother had a good Provision made for him; for he took the Farm of the Cardinal after my Father. My next Brother was a *Cadet* in a Marching Regiment, and hath since got to be a Lieutenant-Colonel for the Regiment, thro' the interest of the Cardinal, who is as like as two Peas; and indeed some People said that the Cardinal was a great Admirer of my Mother, who used to go often to *Paris* to the Cardinal about the Family Concerns: Hey Boy! (clapping him on the Shoulder) what say you to that? We Priests love a little of that same.

Lewis my younger Brother, by the Cardinal's Recommendation, married a young Lady with a large Fortune, who was brought to Bed in four Months after her Marriage, of a chopping Boy; I fancy his Eminency had had a
Finger

Finger in the Pye; however, *Lewis* is very easy, and lives in another Place where the thing is not known, and is highly favoured by the Cardinal.

I have also a Sister, who was brought up in a Convent, but not caring to profess, or take on the Habit, came abroad, and was deluded away by the Confessor of the Convent, which my Mother discover'd by an Accident; for one Day, pulling out her Handkerchief, she pulled out a new Band with it, which fell upon the Floor; my Mother asked her where she had that Band; upon which she changed her Countenance, and blushing, reply'd, that she made it for Father *Lovier* the Confessor, and intended it as a Present: My Mother soon found they had been together in private, and knowing what the Ecclesiasticks are, took her into the Chamber, examin'd her very strictly, and found she was three Months gone with Child; and being a discreet prudent Woman, carry'd her to *Paris*, where she was brought to Bed of a Girl, which was put into the Hospital (*Enfants Trouvés*) for Foundlings, and afterwards she was marry'd to a Wine Merchant from *Bordeaux*, with whom she lives very happily. You may see, *Monsr. Englishman*, quoth the *Abbe*, that I have good Relations, I am not of the Mob, so I am not. My Father, in my Infancy design'd me for a Priest; the Cardinal having the Welfare of the family at Heart (for

Mother's

Mother's sake) he believed I could not miss of a Parsonage ; for that Reason I studied at the *Jesuits* at *Roan*, and being a handsome young Scripling, a Shopkeeper's Widow fell in Love with me ; every Time I passed by her House she called me in to make much of me ; sometimes she gave me a large Slice of Cake, and a Draught of good Cyder, sometimes baked Apples or Pears, and always some little savory Bit ; sometimes she took me in beside her Shop, and kiss'd my Cheek, and talked to me in such a manner that I did not know what to think of it.

At length she grew so desperately in Love with me, that she would needs have married me, and proposed to give me all she had, if I would make her my Wife ; in short, with some Invitations, she had my Maidenhead, and often pressed me to marry her ; and offered to purchase for me a free Porter's Place at the *Salt-Works* ; she was old enough to be my Mother, and a greasy fat Heap of Guts she was ; but the Advantage of the Place set me agog : I agreed to marry her, provided my Father and Mother consented, accordingly she got a Confident of her's to inform them of her Desire, and to persuade them to consent to it ; my Father and Mother, by the Persuasion of the Confident, went to see her, where she gave them such an Entertainment as surpris'd them. She had nothing but Silver Plate on the Table, and that sufficient for

three Courses, which so charmed the old Folks, that they came into her Scheme, and gave their Consent.

We were at the Point of drawing the Writings, when her Heirs disappointed me, and threatned that if I went on, they would murder me. She had some Nephews, arch Wags; they watched me so that I durst not go to her, unless at Night; and once, as I was there, the Street-Door happening to be open, they stept in softly, and crept up Stairs so silently, and found Madam and I in such a Posture as you may guess: You may believe I was confoundedly startled, when two lusty strong-boned Rascals seized me by the Collar, and without farther Ceremony, flung me out of the Window; by which Accident I broke this Leg, which you perceive is feeble when I am dancing.

The extreme Pain I was in made me roar out like a Bull, which immediately gathered a Crowd about the House, when a Magistrate was sent for, who having examined into the Matter, ordered the Nephews to Goal for taking on them to be Judges and Executioners in their own Cause; Madam was ordered to the Bridewell to be well Flogged for her Lechery; and poor *Pilgarlick* was sent to the Hospital, with Directions to the Governor to have a strict Eye over me; where I remained about three Months; when one Night I privately gave them the Slip, and went to *Paris*, where I waited

I waited on the Cardinal, and informed him of the whole Accident; who burst out into an immoderate Fit of Laughter at the Adventure; and told me, that since it was no worse, he would undertake that I might safely return to my Studies at *Roan*; which in about fourteen Days he did. And when I came home, my Father used to reflect on me, and told me, that I should make a better Priest than a Tradesman.

As I walked in the Streets the young Ladies would point at me; and some would give me such a Leer as used to make me ashamed; till at last, by Custom, I became so hardy, that I could pay them in their own Coin.

At last, my Mother, by the Cardinal's Recommendation, got me to be a Preceptor in a Person of Quality's House, for you must know that I was a good Rhetorician; I made very pretty *Latin* Prose, just like *Cicero*; there was no Difference between us; I also made very pretty *Greek* Verses; as for *Latin* Verses, I laid them aside, I could never make any thing of them, they puzzled my Brain; in short, I lived in this Quality Family like a Hog in a Trough.

Before I had been there six Months I grew as red as a Rose, and as fat as a Friar: While the Children were at School I studied Philosophy, and could dispute like *Plato*.

I soon perceived the Lady was fallen in Love with me; for we strove to outdo one another

another in ogling; she always clapped the best Bits at the Table in my Plate. My Lady often came into my Study under Pretence of private Prayer, where we used to pass the Time away very agreeably, till at last my Lady proved big with Child, for she was Widow to the Marquis *Degale*, an antient Family in *Normandy*; and after we had laid our Heads together, it was agreed that her Ladyship should go to *Paris* to Lie-in; and that she should give out, that she was obliged to go there to carry on a Law-suit for the Recovery of her Share of her Brother's Estate, who was killed at the Battle of *Ramillies*, and Major of the Regiment *De Chartres*; and that it would be necessary for me to go with her to superintend the Cause; accordingly we both set out, each in a Post Chaise; and on the Road we indulged ourselves in all the Pleasure we could think of.

Here I must tell you an odd Passage that happened on the Road. We put up at an Inn, the Sign of the *St. Esprit* in *St. Dennis*, where the Caravan also puts up, in which there was a jolly *Capuchin*, who, you know, never wears Lin en, Breeches, or Stockings, but lies in the same Cloaths at Night as they wear in the Day. The Friar was put into the next Chamber where the Host's Daughter lay, and where they had put some clean Straw for him to lie on.

In the Morning early the Caravan was to set out for *Abbeville*; and not having all their Company, the Postillion, or Driver, went into the Daughter's Apartment by Mistake, where he found the jolly Friar and Miss in each others Arms fast asleep: Upon which the Postillion fell a whipping the Friar, that he made such a Roaring as alarmed the whole House, and was good Sport for the Passengers, who lost the Friar's Company, by reason he sneaked off, and returned to his Convent, under Pretence of being taken ill on the Road.

At length the Lady *Degale* and I arrived at *Paris*, and went to the *Hotel Imperial*, where we staid two or three Days, until she took a private Lodging, and went by another Name, having her Letters addressed to *Mons. Waters*, a Banker in *Fauxburgh St. Germans*, where I used to go and fetch them; when one Day Madam having opened her Letters, cried, 'My dear *Abbe*, I wish you much Joy, and kissed me, you are Vicer of *St. Jean le Vive*, a Living worth 5000 Livres a Year! for here is an Account that the old Parson is dead, and that Living is in my Gift, which which I will bestow on you with all the Pleasure imaginable:' And then put her Hands round my Neck, and hugged me, and kissed me over and over again.

In short, I lived in Clover, no Man could be happier, the full Enjoyment of a fine Wo-

man-

man, a plentiful Table, and Gold in my Pocket! But so it was, I fell into Company with an arch ludicrous Fellow of a Scholar, who sung a Song, and told me a merry Story with a good Grace; his Name was *Abbe Peinteur*; who got me one Day to the *Black-a-moor's Head* in the *Rue Dauphin*; where, with other Rakes, like himself, we made the most of all that came in our way: He had so bewitched me, that I could not live without him.

I no longer regarded what my Lady said to me, it was to no purpose for her to preach, one Word of my debauched Companion blotted out all she could say, when he, fortunately for me, lifted himself in the Cavalry, and was carried into *Germany* by his Captain.

I then again fell to my Studies, and continued with the Lady, where, in about three Months, I received a Letter from my Spark, who writ to me from the Suburbs of *St. Denis*, being at a Tavern, the Sign of *St. Michael*, to which Place he desired I would go to him, where he expected me. There was no need of sending for me twice; I view thither; but how was I surprized, when I found him in the Habit of a *Recolet*. I thought I should have dropt down, no Masquerade was ever more comical; however, the Habit did not disguise his good Mien, he was still the same, as streight as an Arrow, and as red as a Rose. After embracing, he called for Wine, and told me, that he had me, with a *Recolet* of his Acquaintance

tance in *Oermany*, who had conveyed him into his Monastery, because his Captain would not give him his Discharge, that the Friars had had kept him near a Month, till the Troops had marched away; during which Time, those good religious Father had almost broke his Belly with eating and drinking; and at last, for fear he should be known, and taken up as a Deserter, they had given him a *Recolet's* Habit, with a Pass to go from Convent to Convent, to *Liege*, and also to be accommodated by them, till he came to *Lyons*, where he was to quit the Habit, and restore it to the reverend Fathers the *Recolets*: That he had led an extravagant Life on the Road all the Way; that all the Monasteries where he had lain, they had entertained him with the best of Victuals and Wine, and had given him Presents to carry to the Superior, and to several *Recolets* at *Lyons*, but that he had sold and spent all by the Way; that coming from a Monastery, where the good Fathers had given him so much Liquor, that he was intoxicated, he met with a young Wench whom he would have ravished, which he had done, had not some Peasants came, (running) who heard the Wench cry out, and were for seizing him, and carrying him back to the Monastery, to be punished by his Superiors, being unwilling to meddle with him themselves, because of his sacred Character, (the *Recolets* being held in great Veneration in those Parts) but he being strong

stronger than those Clowns, began to lay about him with his Staff, and so got away. We were three whole Days in the Tavern, called the St. Michael, without parting, but he having no Money, and my Purse having but little in it, we spent all, and then I advised him to go to the Recolets, and ask for Cloaths of them, and some Money to return Home, because he was well known: for those Mendicant Fathers went often a Quelling, (i.e.) begging of his Father and Mother. I offer'd to bear him Company to the Monastery, which Proposal he approved of: to the Convent we went together, where I soon perceived that matters would go with him but very badly: for we were no sooner got into the monastery, than the Brother Porter lock'd the Door, and rung the Bell thrice, when on a sudden came out six or seven great strapping Friars, who bestowed a thousand Reproaches on him, saying, Are you come then, Mr. Scoundrel, who wearing our Habit, have scandalized us with your Debauches, who have squandred away all that has been given for the Monastery, who are for lying with, and ravishing Women on the Road, come into the Refectory, we have expected you a long Time; and you, Sir, added they, turning to me, are not you his Companion; will not you come in with him to be made much of. No, Reverend Fathers, I replied, perceiving there were fifteen of those Dissemblers, who were dragging him

to the Rectory, where he went with an ill Will, for I know nothing of him, I know not the Man, it is a worthy religious Person, who desired me to shew him the Way to the Monastery.

I denied him, as Peter did our Saviour, and having said so, I got out as fast as I could: I had not been at Home above four Hours (where my Lady reproached me of my Ingratitude and Neglect of her) before I received a Note from Mons. Abbe Peinteur, who desired me to repair to him at the same Tavern, where we had before spent three Days; my longing to know how he had got out of the Hands of those hypocritical Fathers, made me not hesitate one Moment going to him, I took what Money I had, and made haste to him. I was never more surpriz'd, when I found him again in his *Recluse's* Habit; but the poor Lad, after having barred the Door of the Room, undid his Cord, and let fall his Habit, he look'd like a poor Culprit, after he had been scourged at a Whipping Post, they had not whipp'd but stea'd him; he fell a Weeping, and I sympathiz'd with him; after taking three or four hearty Bumpers of *Burgundy*, he told me how they treated him.

They bound him to one of the Pillars, with him and their Cords, and having made both his Arms and Feet so tite that he could not move, two great-headed Fathers fell to giving him, what they called their wholesome Discipline: it was not long before they had torn his

Skin from his Back, with their thick Cords, he roared out like one that was going to be murdered, whilst the Doctor stood by saying, *This is for the Reverend Father such a one's Present; this is for your Debaucheries with such a Woman, at such a Place; this is for getting Drunk; this is for attempting to ravish the Girl, and the like; in short, they laid on him for all his Sins, for the Virgin and the Day.*

When they had mauled him Back and Belly, it was put to the Question, whether they should send him to his Father, to give Notice of his Defection from the Army, to the Secretary of War, which was oppos'd in general by the others.

One said he ought to be immured in the Walls; another was for putting him in the Black Hole (which are in those Convents for the Punishment of false Brethren) another was for giving him a lay Habit, and make him swear he would defend it back; when he got Home; do not trust to that, cries another, he will certainly keep it; others were for sending him away the Regular Habit, and a Father and a Lay Brother to go with him to bring it back; but no one would consent to go with him on that Embassy: which indeed they were in the right of, for he swore by the blessed Virgin, that he would have murder'd one of them; at last they agreed to send him away alone with the Habit, and write a civil Letter to his Father, whom they esteemed an honest Man, and who

who they believed would certainly send the Habit back again; they unbound him, and then one of the Fathers mounted the *Rostrum*, and preached him a long Sermon on the Heinousness of his Offence, and that if he did not repent and reform, his End in this World would be sad, and in the World to come his Punishment would be worse; and so they conducted him out of the Town, with four of their Mirmidons, who by the Way advised him not to boast when he came Home of his good Fortune, for that he might be assured, it would be Buried in Oblivion of their Sides. All the whole Time he was studying to be revenged of them, but, says he, *what could I do with those Bell-weather Friars? I can think of no Method but burning them in their Convents.*

At last, when they had left him, and were gone out of Sight, he fetch'd a Circle round the City, and turned towards St. Dennis's Suburbs, to consult with me, and conjur'd me by our inviolable Friendship, to assist him in taking his Revenge of those dissembling Executioners. When I had promised and sworn to him, that I would do any thing in the World he should desire of me; he asked me, *If I had any Money?* *Very little,* I replied, *and if we staid there any Time, I shall not have more than will carry us out; come then, come let us then, to wash away Sorrow, and is good to advise with the Pillow, but first let us send for some Oil of sweet Almonds, and let me beg of you to rub all me over with it, for these d—nd*

religious Harpers have scourged me so, that my Sores
burn like Fire, and I am as if my Skin was stuck
full of Needles.

No sooner said than done, when we drank till
it was late at Night; at length, after having
long debated him all night, he revenged on
us, by whipping Mithicans; we agreed to cloath
both of us in Redden Habits, and go a Quest-
ing in the Neighbouring Villages, and so soon
as we had got enough, I was to put on my
Habit again, but the Question was, how
he should get another Redden Habit, and who
we should get to make it. Ficke first, who would
have us murder the next Redden we met, but
this was too dangerous; it was Dolly
to venture, and I was to go a Questing, he who
has Money, says he will buy every Thing, I
go Home, take all the best Things you have,
and come back to me; I have resolved to beg a
Horse, all we concern ourself with my Father's Far-
mers, who is my honest Master, and a very
rich.

I will counterfeit my Father's Hand, to de-
ceive him to give me a hundred Orbes, upon
Account of what I have sold him, to pay the
Charge of my Redden Habit, because I am
to be revenged on him, and then I will cloath
you.

I approved of his Project, and went Home,
where I pack'd up my Cloaths and Linen,
and returned to him at the Tavern, where we
eat and drank heartily, to drive away Care and

Sorrow,

Sorrow, till all was made away: before we
 let out from thence; for I sold my Silver Buck-
 les and Buttons before we budg'd.

At last we began our Journey, and accom-
 plish'd his Scheme on his Father's Tenant;
 when he went in on any good House, you would
 have thought he had been dedicated to nothing
 else but begging, he did it with such a good
 Grace, Peace to this House and all that dwell there-
 in, said he, when he came therein, the Blessing
 of the Lord, and the Intercession of the Virgin
 Mary, and all the holy Saints attend you, where-
 soever you are, may the Lord increase your Stock,
 I come to move your Charity, in behalf of our Re-
 vended Fathers, who will pray for you and all
 their Benefactors, and will offer up the holy Sacri-
 fice of the Mass, for the Souls of your departed Re-
 lations, now again I say, he was a most

You know our Monastery is poor, and it is as much
 as the two do, to keep Life and Soul together; on
 the other Hand, he is rich in good Works, whereof
 on our Part, we will make you Partakers in abun-
 dantly.

In most Houses, as soon as we came in, the
 Cloth was laid, nor at least they made us drink;
 after which we never went away empty handed;
 if there happen'd to be a young Maiden, that
 was marrigable, he never omitted asking whe-
 ther she was engaged, or whether she had any
 good Friends; and according to her Answer
 he told her, that he knew a handsome
 Fellow, who was a very sober Man, and of

of Substance, who wore the Cord of St. Francis, but would not profess, tho' often persuaded by his Friends, and who desired him to find out a handsome modest Maid for him; and who, says our Friend, *would be fit for you*; and if she appeared of it, he would bring him in a short Time; he said much the same to young Bachelors, Widows and Widowers, and was always provided with an agreeable Person to match with them; for you know, said he, that we into all good Houses, and are acquainted with all sorts of Persons; and we seek for nothing more than to return the Good we receive an hundred fold; I came from the Monastery at Nantz, where I have been much missed, and in all the Country six Miles round. In one Year's Time I made up above fourscore Matches; and I can safely swear by the Honour I owe to our frathick Father St. Francis, that not one of them has succeeded amiss; for I have an excellent Knack at tying the Knot of the great Sacrament, as St. Paul calls it; hereupon God knows how many Blessings those it concerned bestowed on us, and how it opened their Hearts to put into the Box, the Basket, and the Wallet; some gave us Money, some Butter, some Eggs, Bacon, Cheese, and the like; for any thing served us, and we refused nothing. Tho', to my Sorrow, I lost the Living the Lady Degale intended to have inducted me into.

Some

Some of the young Folks asked him what was become of Father *Panoratus*, who was a good religious Man; he presently named a Monastery he was gone to, by Order of his Superior, saying, that he was come in his Place, and that by St. *Francis* they would like him as well as they did Father *Panoratus*.

If they asked his Name, he told them it was Father *Tin*, an unworthy Reebler; if they asked him who I was, he used to tell them that I was a Novice, or Petitioner for the holy Habit; that I was obliged to perform my Noviceship in Questing, and then I used to look down, and play'd the Hypocrite very artfully.

I used to carry the Basket and Wallet, which we put their Donations in; and the People used to admire my Resignation, and encourage me to perieve in my religious Enterprises; only some young Females used to leer upon me, and cry, What a Pity it was, such a young Man should be bury'd from Love Affairs! When he met any comely Lasses, who asked his Blessing, he would be very pleasant with them; and if they were of Age, and alone, he would offer to kiss them, and sometimes use such Freedoms as are not to be named.

It hapened that we went a Questing to a Village where Father *Panoratus* had been but a Fortnight before; we searched after him every where, if we had found him, we had charitably

tably return'd on him double what his sturdy Fathers had bestow'd on my Comrade.

In fine, after having strol'd about above six Weeks, of making our Questing a Frolick, we came to the *Abbe* Father's Farmer, where he wanted to get one hundred Livres. He made me hide myself till he went in; and then he gave the good old Man many Compliments, and told him that he came by an Order from his Father: How is this? says the Farmer; your Father knows not where you are; he is in much Trouble about you; and all on a sudden you appear as a *Racoler*! What Change you see, reply'd my Hypocrite, is the Effect of God's Goodness, whom it often pleases to touch the Heart of a Libertine, and make a Saint of him.

You know what happened to St. *Augustine*, and he has done the like to many; for since I have put on this holy Habit, I have endeavour'd to expiate my Sins in Sackcloth and Ashes, by Fasting and Mortifying; but above all, by Scourging myself, as you may see (then unloos'd his Gown, and shew'd his Marks I know the Advantage that is reapen by that holy Exercise, and that every Inch of it's worth; and it will be for the Salvation of your Soul if you were to undergo the same Mortification in the Flesh.

O Jesus! cry'd the old Farmer, what a Comfort must this be to your Father, your Mother, and all your Family, to see such a Reformation

Reformation in you! Alas, they dreaded, lest your loose Disposition should bring you to some Disaster, and them to Disgrace thereby; but, God be thanked, they are happily mistaken; Heaven be praised for it! The poor Man be called his Wife and all the Family to partake of the Joy, and make much of him; but the reverend impostor was vey pressing to touch the Money, in which he was disappointed; for whilst they were treating my Spark, in came one of their Neighbours, who was somewhat sharper than the Farmer, who spoll'd all their Contrivance and Projects; He had seen them talking behind a Copice, and therefore suspected a Plot; he ask'd the Farmer, how it came that the new Leagues off, had not rather sent a Servant to call him, to bring the Money, than to writhe to him by his Son, whom he naturally ought to have kept at Home; and kill the fatted Calf to entertain him as the Prodigal Son; to which our spiritual Hypocrite readily answer'd, That his Father was willing to give his Father the Satisfaction of seeing his Son, who he thought to be lost, and so happily found.

The other asked him how he came to be alone, since the *Recolers* always went abroad by two and two. He said his Companion staid at his Father's House, because he had a sore Foot. This raised a Jealousy in the Farmer, who concluded he would carry the Money himself to his Father, who might do with it

as he thought fit. There was no Refusal of the Proposal; and we were for robbing him by the Way, we soon after repented it, but it was too late: For my Comrade told the Farmer that he was going to pay another Visit, with his Companion, to a Cousin's House of his, who lived a League off, and that when he came back he would call on him, to go together to his Father's House. However we got a good Bellyfull, and so set out to pay the Visit to his Cousin, and return to the good Man, who expects us to this Hour.

We explained bitterly against the Farmer's Neighbour, who had prevented our receiving the Money; and having heartily given him to Satan, we took another Road to Lyons to continue our Quest, which still went on very well.

But a little League short of Lyons we met with a Scholar of his Acquaintance, who was returning from the Country, where he had been to spend the Easter Holidays amongst his Relations; and seeing us in that sort of Equipage, suspected we were the Persons he had heard talk of in his Village; and told us there were Orders abrtad from the Reverend Fathers Recolets of Lyons, to secure us; that the Sunday before he had heard the Curate of the Parish, in his Exhortation, charge his Parishioners to apprehend two Impostors who were Questing, one of them in a Recelet's Habit, the other in that of a Priest; we immediately resolved to change our Course, and go towards Italy; and accordingly did,

and

and continued Questing with good Success, not sparing to play our Pranks as usual, which made us often to be pursued like Vagrants.

One Day we happened to go Questing into a Town where was a Monastery of Recolets, who had had some Intelligence of us, and desired the Inhabitants to give them Notice, if we came near; which was done, and all the Monastery sallied out upon us, and presently the Friars and their Servants were at our Heels.

It was our good Fortune that there was a Mountain near at Hand, which we possessed ourselves of, and on it was a Forrest, from whence we threw Stones, which kept the Friars in Awe and at a Distance.

I gave one of them such a Bang on the Breast with a Stone, that he turn'd up his Heels, and roll'd down to the Bottom of the Hill, where we saw him carry'd off to his Menastry, by two of his Companions, who were glad of that Presence to get out of the Fray, which was sharp, not without Blood.

However, I lost my Basket, and in it four Crowns, and other Things we had put in it; I was much concern'd to leave it, but had I been resolute to secure it, I had been nabb'd; besides that, I was not in a Condition to defend myself without laying it down: My Comrade, though he had tuck'd up his Habit above the Knees and was very active, could not run as fast as I, and would never quit his Wallet, which was well furnished, and which he laid athwart his Body, like a Scarfe,

girded his Cord over it. One of the Friars overtook him, armed with a great Staff, with a Spike at the end of it; the other, nothing dismayed, stood his Ground, and having parried his Thrust, closed with him, took away his Staff, and rung him such a Peal, that he tumbled down the Mountain.

The boldest of the Company came up next, with a dangerous Prong, to revenge the rest; but he smacked him such a Blow on the Head, with the Staff he had wrenched from the other, that he went all bloody, with his Heels upwards to meet the other at the Foot of the Mountain; whilst I continued rolling down large Stones, which having dreadful Falls as they went, made the Places almost tremble; thus we made our Escape, and got into the Forest; and push'd forward the rest of the Day, without stopping. About Sunset we saw a Smoak at a Distance in the Forrest, and made directly for it, where Men were burning of Charcole, whom we told, that we had lost our Way; they in an hospitable Manner gave us House-room, and Cheese made of Goat's-Milk; and we gave them some of our Bread; and they had good Wine, which we drank very plentifully. We came off for a pair of Beads, which we gave to a young Woman, Daughter of one of the Colliers, who permitted our Friar to use Familiarities with that, which he had afterwards told me, and at which I was vexed, because he did not let me know sooner.

The

The next Morning, after giving them our Blessing, which they received on their Knees, one of the Colliers went along with us, to conduct us out of the Forrest.

We took our Way towards *Rome*, begging on the Way; but we received such Intelligence on the Road, that we found it not adviseable to go to *Rome*, because of the opening of the Jubilee, then drawing near; they cleared all Outlaws, Vagabonds, and Persons that could not give a good Account of themselves, and produce proper Testimonials of their being called to that Religious Cavalcade, from all Parts of *Europe*, which made us change our Minds, and steer another Course.

On *Whitsunday* we met with a young Woman that was big with Child, and was going to *Even-song*; the Reverend Frier perceiving she obled us both, began to be very amorous, and, without any more Ceremony, asked her to grant the last Favour; but she gave him to understand that she could not grant it, because she had that Morning taken the Sacrament after her Confession; however he managed her so well (for he was a say intriguing Fellow) that she carry'd us back to her House, she saw we were two sprightly young Sparks, for he was very handsome; and gave us to understand, that we must lie in the Loft, over the Cows Stall, where we should spend the Night very agreeably, and that she would supply us Meat and Drink; for if her Husband

band should happen to discover us, he would rip up our Bellies.

I went up first into the Loft, whilst the good Father made much of the Countrywoman; but it hapened, unluckily for me, that being to get up the Loft by the Rack, which was sadly Wormeaten, and I being none of the lightest, down came the Rack, and I fell with it on the *Recolet*, and the Cows; by good Luck, the Woman had no Share in it, because he had push'd her up against the Wall; the good Father had the worst of it, for his Arm was all flead; we roar'd out, and the Cows were so frightened, that we were indanger of being gor'd. The poor Woman was half dead.

The Neighbours came in at the Cry, and taking us for Thieves, were going to lay us on with their rural Implements, which they had infalliable done, had not the good Woman given them to understand that we were honest People, who asked her to give them some warm Milk, and as she went about to milk the Cow, it was scared, and had pulled down the Rack upon her and us.

This turned the Clowns Fury in Compassion so that they sent for the Barber of the Village, who came and dress the *Recolet's* Arm, with which he was in great Pain.

When

When the *Abbe* had gone so far in his Story to the Captain, he heard the clattering of the Bolts, and *Roger* bringing them some Provisions; when the Protestant made Complaint of his new Comrade, and said that he did not care to mess with such a Libertine; upon which *Roger* said, that he should be removed; accordingly, in half an Hour's Time he was taken out of their Appartment, and put into another.

There was in the Appartment a young Nobleman that had been guilty of a Crime, *Sodomy*, for which, by the Law, he should have been put to Death; but by reason of his high Quality, his Sentence was changed to that of Imprisonment.

This Gentleman was of a haughty and over bearing Temper, to whom, nevertheless, the other Prisoners had shewn the utmost Respect, and had complemented him with the best Corner of the Room; and indulged him with the upper end of the Table, and the best Place at the Fire.

The Governor had made him a Present of a young Kitten, which he had taught to play several pretty Tricks that diverted the Gentleman very often; it happened one Day, as the Captain sat by the Fire, he kick'd the Kitten, which the young Nobleman resented highly, so that harsh Words ensued; and at last the Captain collar'd him, and threw him on the Bed; which occasioned the other Prisoners.

soners, to prevent farther Mischiefs, to call out for the Guard, who immediately came up, and took them both out of the Chamber, and put them into separate Apartments.

And in a few Days after, the Captain was carry'd before the Governor, to whom he gave an Account how this Difference arose between him and the Nobleman, which he did in such a polite and handsome Manner, that he got the Governor's good Will, and by that he procured Leave (thro' the Governor's Interposition with the Lieutenant *de Police*) to write a Letter to his Friends at *St. Germans*, representing his deplorable Condition, the long Time of his Confinement, his Compunction of Mind for his Offence; and humbly implored them to intercede on his Behalf for Mercy and that he might be restored to his Liberty; which Letter had its desired Success; for, in about thirteen Days, my Lord *Melford's* Gentleman came to the Governor's House, with an Officer and a *Lettre de Cachet*, or Order, to give the Captain his Liberty; when Roger came into his Chamber where he was alone, and bid him pack up his Effects; for there was Friends of his at the Governor's; O, says the Captain in a Rapture! 'Take every thing I have, *Ryger*, as a Reward for thy joyful Message! I'll go down as I am; I can get more Cloaths when I go into *Paris*.'

And

And so he went down Stairs, and through the great Yard of the *Bastille*, to the outward Court; and then was introduced to the Governor and my Lord's Gentleman, who Congratulated him upon being restor'd to his Liberty; and, after they had drank a Glass or two of Wine with the Governor, they took their Leave, and went out at the Gate, where a Coach was waiting; and carried them directly to a Saleshop, where the Captain got new-cloath'd, *Cap-a-pie*; and that Evening set out in the Stage-Coach for *St. Germain's*, to fling himself at the Feet of his Patron.

At the Time when the Captain was deliver'd out of the *Bastille*, the two Nations, *England* and *France*, were at open War; and the *French* were continually defeated by the Troops under the Conduct of the brave Duke of *Marlbough*; a natural Consequence of which was, that the Pretender's Affairs had a very bad Aspect.

Cap. Frazer, therefore, perceiving how Matters went on all Sides, that he could be of little or no Service to his young Master the *Chevalier*, in the present Circumstances, and that if join'd the *French* Army, he might perchance lose his Life or a Limb, but could not possibly reap any Advantake to himself; and having maturely weigh'd in the Balance of his Judgment, the Reasons which most preponderated on the Side of his Interest; that he could expect little or no Support or Subsistance from his young Master, and that the *French* Court had always

enough for her Money, without granting Pensions; upon these Considerations, he once more apply'd himself to the Pope's Nuncio, intreating his Interest and Recommendation to some Place in the Church.

For, says he, I am tired of this bad World, and have suffered so much from the Villanies of Men, and daily see such enormous Crimes committed among all Ranks and Degrees of People, that I am come to a settled Resolution to quit the publick Stage, with all its Vanities and Wickedness, and devote myself wholly to the Duties of Religion and a pious Life; and I most earnestly beseech your Excellency to further my Intentions in this Behalf, in such a Manner as to free me from the Temptations to Wickedness and put me into a Capacity of assisting others in their Way to Heaven.

The Nuncio heard him with a good deal of Attention, commended his pious Resolution, and promised he would provide for him in the best Manner he could. Accordingly the Nuncio having consulted some Ministers and Heads of the Church, concluded to invest him with priestly Orders, and give him a Living at St. Omer's, which then happened to be vacant. Soon after this the Captain was ordain'd, took the Habit of a Priest, and was sent to his Living at St. Omers.

The Author of the *Memoirs of Lord Lovat*, indeed, tells us, that he was admitted into the holy Order and Profession of a Jesuit; but this cannot be, if what the Author of a *free Exami-*

nation of the Memories of Lord Lovat says, be true; namely, That no Jesuit is admitted to a Living, or the Exercise of Parochial Function in Popish Countries; and that no Jesuit, by the Rules of the Society, is permitted to hear Confessions, before he be fifteen Years, at least, a professed Member of the Society, and in Priest's Orders.

But I shrewdly suspected that this Author is no better than a *Jesuit* himself, as well from the artful and sophistical Management of the Defence of this Nobleman (which runs through the Whole, and appears in every Part of his Treatise) as from the perfect Knowledge he seems to have of the Popish Ecclesiastick Policy.

However, I shall take it for granted, that the Captain could not be admitted into the *Jesuitical Fraternity* according to the Regulations of that Society; and will allow him to be no more than a *Parish Priest*; in which Quality, according to my best Informations, he was inducted to a Living at St. Omers.

For, I cannot agree with the Author of a *free Examination*, &c. that immediately on his Deliverance from the *Bastille*, he chose for his Residence the Town of Saumure; where he occupied a genteel House, kept a handsome Equipage, and saw and was seen by the best Company in that polite and populous Neighbourhood.

For

For how, or which Way could he support the Expence? He had formerly forfeited the good Opinion of both the Courts of *Verfailles* and *St. Germains*, and had suffer'd a long Imprisonment for his Treachery to both of them. Is it credible then, that they shou'd allow him such a Pension (as this Author affirms they did) as to enable him to live in such a splended Manner, without doing any thing for it? Would they not rather, as the Armies were then in the Field, and be a military Man, have given him a Commission, and so oblig'd him to have serv'd the Prince whose Money he took? It seems therefore infinitely more probable that he accepted the Nuncio's Offer, and became an Ecclesiastick; by which Means he had a comfortable Subsistence, without any Hazard to his Person, or being liable to the Frowns and variable Humours of Princes and their Ministers.

We shall find him then a Parochial Priest at *St. Omers*, assiduously discharging the several Offices of his Function, and setting an example of Piety and Diligence to his Superiors, Equals, and Inferiors; so that in two or three Years Time, he became eminent for his Sanctity and Learning, to the great Comfort and Instruction of his Parishioners.

While the Captain, now metamorphos'd into a Priest, was thus employing himself at *St. Omers*, he was, in a Manner, forgotten by his old Acquaintance, and as it were, quite lost to the

the busy World. However some of his Friends in *Scotland*, willing to know what was become of Captain *Frazer* of *Castle-Leathers*, an old Associate of the Captain's, to go in Search of him.

Accordingly the Major, in the Year 1714, went into *France* upon that Business; and after a great deal of Enquiry, understood that he had been discharged from the *Bastille*, and was retired to *St. Omers*, and in what Manner he lived there.

The Major immediately repair'd thither, and to his great Surprise, found him in this obscure and indolent Way of Life.

They were both glad to see one another, and after mutual Salutations had pass'd, the Major began to expostulate with him upon his inglorious Retirement, unbraiding him with Forgetfulness of his Country, as well as the Honour and Estate of his Ancestors, which he ought not to give up as lost, but renew his Claims, assert his Right and Vigour, and convince his Adversaries, by his Actions, that he was a true Descendant of that noble Family whose Blood ran in his Veins.

Upon this the Captain began to rouse himself from his Lethargy, and soon came to a Resolution to follow the Major's Advice; especially as there seem'd a Way now opened, not only for his safe Return to *England*, but for the Pursuance of any Project that he might undertake for his own Advancement and Restoration.

THE

This was in the Year 1714, when the two Kingdoms were at Peace, and Queen *Anne* departed this Life; when it was expected that new Troubles and Commotions would be raised in *England* by the Pretender's Adherents, upon the Advancement of King *George* to the Throne.

But this was not the only Reason that made our Priest so willing to quit *St. Omers*, if what the Author of *the Memoirs* says may be relied on, namely, that he had too much exposed his sacred Character by his amorous Intrigues and lascivious Conduct; in the Pursuance of which he had used so little Caution and Secresy, that his Love-pranks began to be the Subject of publick Talk; which might be attended with fatal Consequences to one of his Character.

Pretending therefore that he had an Affair of great Importance to be transacted in a distant Part of the Country, he equipp'd himself for a Journey, but really set out with his Friend the Major to *England*, where he arrived in the Year 1715, much about the Time when the Rebellion broke out in *Scotland*.

But before we come to speak of the Captain's Transactions and Conduct at that Time, it will, I believe afford the Reader some Amusement to acquaint him with some of the Frolicks and Adventures of our Captain, in the Disguise of his Priesthood, while he resided at *St. Omers*.

The

The Author of *the Memoirs* says, he had his Information of the following Facts from a Gentleman of Credit, who travelled through those Parts some Time after our Captain, or Priest, had disrob'd himself of his black Gown and resum'd his Law-habit. I shall give the Relation in the Words of the Author of *the Memoirs*, as follows.

This Gentleman in his Travels spent several Days at St. Omers, and visiting the Churches and Curiosities, he was shewn the Picture of *Frazer* the *Jesuit*, as he calls him, which the People had preserved with great Reverence and Devotion in Memory of this pious and good Man: For notwithstanding he had left them, they said they doubted not but he had been sent by Order of his Holiness the *Pope* into *Great Britain* to carry on some secret and momentous Design for the Service and Interest of the Church.

But my Friend was at the Pains to undeceive the poor ignorant People, and informed them fully of the true Life and Character of their pretended *Jesuit*; the Picture was thereupon with just indignation and Contempt pulled down and destroyed, as they protested they would have served the Original if he had been then in their Power.

This Discovery of his being an Imposter made a great Noise in the Place, and brought to Light several Particulars which were before known only to a few, and which it would not have

have been safe or prudent for any Person to disclose if our Jesuit had still continued in the same religious Character and Credit.

The Jesuit had been recommended to one Mons. M——n's, a Gentleman of some Rank within a few Miles of St. Omirs, as a Father-Confessor, and by his Grave and devout Deportment gained his Esteem and Friendship; this he improved to his no small Advantage; for he insinuated himself into the Affection of Mons. M——n's Lady, who was young and agreeable in her Person, and obtained criminal Favours of her; she likewise made him considerable Presents as Marks of her Love and Esteem.

Like other fine Gentlemen of this Age, he makes no Scruple of boasting of this Piece of Gallantry, in Contempt of his sacred Function, and all the Laws of Honour and Gratitude; and he often relates with no small Ostentation, an Account of his debauching about the same Time a beautiful young Lady of a good Family, to whom his religious Character gave him frequent Opportunities of Access; according to his own Account he first practised on her Maid, she fell an easy willing Conquest, and by her Means the young Lady soon after became a Sacrifice to the brutal Lust of our Jesuit; he ravished her in Presence of her Maid; this vile Creature, who had before assisted him by procuring him a favourable Opportunity, was an Accomplice in

the Crime, by stifling the Cries of her betrayed Mistress.

She had no sooner gratified his base Desire, than the Maid, conspiring with her Lover, endeavoured to reconcile her to the Jesuit; she represented the Crime as of a venial Nature, for which the holy Father could give her Absolution, and conjured her for her own sake to keep it concealed, to prevent the Shame and Reproach that would attend her if the Thing was known; she went further, and threatened, in Case she made a Discovery, to accuse her to her Relations, with having, in a most indecent Manner, endeavoured to tempt the Virtue of the good Father.

She no sooner perceived that her base Arguments began to work upon the tender Mind of her young Mistress, than, to reconcile her the more to the Crime, she threw herself on the Bed, and lewdly invited the Jesuit to her Embraces; our holy Father was not wanting on his Part, he caressed her accordingly, and in a little Time after gave the young Lady repeated Marks of his Fondness and Affection for her.

This infamous Commerce continued for some Months; the Jesuit was likewise under a Necessity of sometimes visiting Madam M——n: And, as he has frequently boasted, he had, at that Time, Business enough upon his Hands to employ the whole Society of Jesus.

But I shall leave this Part of his History upon the Credit of the Relator, and follow our Captain to England.

In the Month of September, 1715, he arrived in London, and immediately repatring to some of his old Acquaintance and particular Friends, with whom he consulted how he should make Advantage of the Disturbances that the Pretender's Adherents were then raising in the North. The first Step he was advised to take was, to procure a pass for him into Scotland.

To which Purpose he found Means to have it represented to the Duke of Argyle and Mr. Forbs of Culloden, that if he could get safe and unsuspected to the North of Scotland, his Interest was such among the Highlanders, that he could be very instrumental in quelling the Rebellion. The Duke and Mr. Forbes, upon this Representation, granted him a Pass-port, under the borrow'd Name of Capt. Brown: and accordingly he set out, accompanied only by his Faithful Friend the Major, for Edinburgh.

On his Arrival there, he thought it necessary to conceal himself till a Ship was ready to carry him to the North of Scotland; for as the Country was then every where up in Arms, he found it impossible for him to travel by Land.

The Captain's Concealment in Edinburgh, however, was not so close, but his Enemies got Notice of it, and made Information thereof to the Lord Justice Clerk, who granted a Warrant for his Apprehension, as a Person outlawed and inter-communed;

cummuned; and to prevent any Let or Hindrance in the Execution of the Warrant, a Party of the Town guard went with the Peace Officers to the House where he lodged in the Grass-market, and took him into Custody.

This unfortunate Accident must have put a final Period to all our Captain's Adventures, had it not been for the following lucky Incident.

The Officer who commanded the Party that took him Prisoner, happen'd to be a Person with whom he was formerly well acquainted; and upon seeing him in this Distress, express'd abundance of Concern, and promis'd the Captain to use his utmost Endevours to deliver him from this unhappy Dilemma.

Upon this the Captain declar'd to the Officer the Occasion that brought him into Scotland; that his Business was to serve his Majesty King George; that he went by the Name of Brown, and that he had a Passport from his Majesty's Ministers for his great Safety of proceeding in the Expedition he was going upon.

All this appearing very feasible, the Officer went to the Provost of Edinburgh, and acquainted him with the Circumstances of Capt. Fraser's Case.

The Provost having duly weigh'd and consider'd the Matter, and not willing to cause any Let or Hindrance to his Majesty's Service, as he fear'd he should by detaining the Capt. from persecuting the Business he was upon, tho'

tho' he might have done it by Law ; and therefore, to give some plausible Colour for his setting him at Liberty, he said, that the Information was wrong, it being laid against Capt. *Frazer*, whereas the Person taken appeared to be Capt. *Brown* ; and so, without more ado, discharg'd the Warrant.

Our Captain having thus happily escaped from the Danger that threatned him, changed his Lodgings, and in a few Days went a-board a Vessel, and sail'd for *Inverness*. But a Storm arising at Sea, the Ship was forced to mak the first Harbour, which happen'd to be that of *Frazerburgh*, which is situated within a few Miles of the Captain's old Friend the Lord *Salton's* House.

The Captain was immediately sensible of his Danger, and having Mr. *Forbes* with him, who attended him in that Expedition, to assist him in his Majesty's Service, consulted with him what was best to be done in that Emergency.

After mature Deliberation, they judg'd it their best Way to make themselves known to Mr. *Baillie*, Townclerk of *Fraseburg* ; they did so, and Mr. *Baillie*, found Means to provide them with Horses to carry them to *Culloden* House, the Seat of the Lord President of *Scotland*, where they safely arrived in *November* 1715, after running many Hazards from the Rebels, who were patrolling in Parties all over the Country.

Capt.

Capt. *Frazer* being got thus far into the North of *Scotland*, and amongst the Clans, considered seriously with himself the Part he was to act; for upon the Resolution he should he should now take, depended the future Fortune of his Life.

The principal Design he had in View, was to recover the Honours and Estate of *Lovat*; which, if he could but accomplish, it was no Matter with him whether it was by serving King *George* or the Pretender.

His first Enquiry therefore was, which side *Frazerdale* took, who was (as formerly mentioned) in Possession of that Estate; and having certain Information, that *Frazerdale* had took up Arms, and raised Forces for the Pretender, the Captain soon determin'd which Party to join himself to; and accordingly repair'd to those of his own Clan, who had remained faithful to him during his long Absence, and now, upon the first Summons, were, by the Vigilance and good Conduct of some of his particular Friends, who knew of his coming, gather'd into a Body, armed, and ready to act for the Captain, whom, and whom only they acknowledged for their lawful and rightful Chief.

They express'd aundance of Joy on his Appearance among them; own'd him for their natural Head, and declar'd they were all of them to a Man determin'd to assist him in all his Designs

signs and undertakings, let them be whatever they would.

The Captain was not backward in improving this Zeal and Readiness of his *Frasers* to serve him; and declaring to them that he stood up in Defence of the Government, he desired their Concurrence and Assistance, which they chearfully promised him; and it was not long before he was joined by the wellaffected in that Part of the Country.

This seasonable Appearance of the Captain's in the Royal Cause, had these happy Consequences, that, by his Assistance a considerable Body of the Rebels was driven out of the Town and Castle of *Inverness*, the Disaffected were every where kept in Awe, and the Place in that Part of the Country preserved.

But this Affair at *Inverness* cannot be set in a better Light than in the Captain's own words in a Letter which he wrote to his Friend in *London*, with a Design to have it laid before the Ministry, in order to make his great Services appear the more meritorious; by which Means he hop'd to procure the Favour and Protection of the Government, of which, considering the precarious Situation of his Circumstances, he stood in the utmost Need. However we must no longer call him Captain, but Lord *Lovat* (for so he was generally own'd and acknowledged among the Clans) and his Account take as follows,

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“ In *Seatimber*, 1715, the Earl of *Seaforth*, the Pretender's Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief in the North, assembled his Forces at the Seat of *Brabon*, where Sir *Donald M'Donald* of *Slate* with 600 Men had joined him together with the Laird of *M'Kinuon* with 150 Men, and *Alexander M'Kenzie* of *Frazerdale* (who assumed a Command of the Name of *Frazer* in the Right of his Lady) with 400 *Frasers*; whom he had forced together, and 100 *Cbifholms*; these last, with the *Frasers* under the command of *Frazerdale*, amounting to 500, lay at *Castledouny*.

But the *Frasers* of *Struy*, *Foyer*, *Culduthell* and others, kept the rest of that Name on Foot for the Government, having Assurance that Lord Lovat, their natural chief, form for the Protestant Succession, was daily expected from London; this procured them not only the Redicule, but made the Object of Resentment of the Rebels.

Frazerdale finding his Number of Men considerable to what he expected, resolved, if possible, to bring these last mentioned Gentlemen into his Party, and so wrote a Letter, to *Struy* and *Foyer*, desiring a Meeting in order to convince them of the Justice and Reasonableness of the cause he had espoused; they readily granted his Request, being willing to shew him that they were firmly determined to support the Protestant Succession as by Law established, and to oppose the Attempts of the Disaffected

affected to establish a Popish Pretender, and a despotic Government.

With that View they went to Castlebouny with 150 Men, where they were told that Fraserdale was gone to Brahan, but received a Message from Seaforth commanding them to repair to him and enlist in the Service of the Pretender; to which they returned for Answer that they were true Protestants, and would let his Lordship know so much upon a proper Occasion.

While this Treaty was a carrying on, which was only intended to amuse them, Seaforth had in the mean Time detached 600 Men under the command of Fraserdale and other with Orders to take the loyal Frasers dead or alive; but the Frasers being apprised of their design, put themselves in a Posture of Defence, of which the Rebels being informed, and it proving a very rainy tempestuous Night, they thought proper to return, being almost starved with cold and hunger.

Thus a dishonourable and unfair Attempt was frustrated.

[Much about this Time the Earl of Sutherland had drawn together a Body of 1800 in the shire of Ross, intending to prevent Lord Seaforth from joining the main Army of the Rebels at Perth: Seaforth understanding this, and finding himself four thousand strong, marched directly to give the Earl Battle, but the Earl being so much inferior in Number, retreated

to

to *Sutherland*, as well to save his Men, as to draw *Seaforth* further North and divert him for some Time from joining the Rebels at *Perth*; but his Lordship contented himself with ravaging the Country and went strait to *Perth*; where he remained till after the Defeat of the Rebels at *Dumblain*; but the 400 *Frasers* that *Fraserdale* headed, hearing that Lord Lovat was come Home, deserted that Cause, and returned full of Affection to their natural Chief, and out of a just Regard to the Protestant Interest, for which the *Frasers* had ever since the Reformation distinguished themselves; and the same good Disposition appeared plainly in its Effects till the Rebellion was totally extinguished.

Lord Lovat, on the fifth of November 1715, arrived at *Culloden House* near *Inverness*, from whence his Lordship wrote to the Gentlemen of his Name that were well-affected to the Government to come and receive him as their Chief.

Mr. Ross of *Kelravock* and Mr. Forbes of *Culloden*, to prevent his falling into the Hands of the Rebels, conducted him by *Inverness* to the Frontiers of his own Country.

His Lordship soon got his Clan together, and hearing that a Body of the *M^r Intoshes* were going to reinforce Sir John *M^r Kenzie* who commanded the Garrison at *Inverness*, he marched with some others of the well-affected Gentlemen into that Country, in order to intercept them.

them, and prevent their joining the Rebel Garrison.

The *MacIntoshes* hearing of this, sent their principal Gentlemen to treat with his Lordship: They agreed to disperse and deliver up their Arms, and the Gentlemen became bound for the Peace in their Country.

In the mean Time his Lordship having Intelligence that *Keppoch*, with a considerable Body of Men and the Garrison. Sir *John* and *Keppoch* resolved to put his Lordship between two Fires, and attack him on each Side; the *Keppoch*, intimated at his Lordship's Firmness and Resolution, thought proper to retreat through the Country of the *Grants of Urquhart*, where, after committing great Outrages, he and his Men dispersed, and returned Home.

His Lordship thereupon marched strait to *Inverness*, and placed himself on the West-side of the Town, after having sent a Party to guard that Side of the *Firth*, in order to prevent any Supply of Provisions or warlike Stores from coming from the Garrison: *Forbes of Culloden*, with his Men, lay to the East, and the *Grants*, being 800, to the South-side of the Town: Sir *John* finding himself thus surrounded, and in Danger of being starved or taken, and understanding that the well-affected Clans were ready to invest the Place, took the Advantage of a Spring Tide that came up to the Town and made the River navigable, quit-

ted the Town and Castle, and retired in Boats on the 10th of November to the *Ross* Side: Lord *Lovat* took immediately Possession thereof, and acquainted the Earl of *Sutherland*, who was then in *Sutherland*, of their Success. The Earl wrote his Lordship a very obliging Letter thereupon, expressing his Satisfaction that his Lordship had by his Loyalty and Zeal, in Defence of the Government, entitled himself to his Majesty's Favour, and assuring his Lordship that he would truly represent his Services upon that Occasion.

The Earl of *Sutherland* came to *Inverness* the 13th of November, when he received the joyful News of the Defeat of the Rebels at *Dumbblain*, and leaving a sufficient Garrison at *Inverness*, marched with Lord *Lovat* to *Seafort's* Country, where they obliged the Gentlemen then at home to give Security for the peaceable Behaviour of their People, and to return the Arms that had been taken from the *Mourees*; they left a Number of their Men in the Castle of *Braban*, and marched to *Murray* and *Strathfley*, where they subjected the Country to the King's Obedience.

The Earl of *Seafort* in the mean Time gathered together the scatter'd Remains of his Men, after the Battle of *Dumbblain*, and lay with them near *Braban*; the Earl of *Sutherland*, with Lord *Lovat* and others, marched against him, resolving to give him Battle; but the Earl of *Seafort*, upon their Approach, proposed

proposed Terms of Accommodation: Upon a Promise of Pardon he agreed to disperse his Men, own the King's Authority, and deliver up his Arms, and thereupon Hostilities ceased.

His Majesty immediately gave the Earl of Seaforth to understand, that upon his performing his Agreement, and behaving peaceably for the future, he might expect his royal Clemency.

But upon the Arrival of the Pretender in Scotland, the Earl flattering himself that their Affairs might take a favourable Turn, delay'd to perform the Conditions he had submitted to, and therefore forfeited any Title to his Majesty's Pardon; soon after these Transactions the Rebellion was totally extinguished by the Retreat and Dispersion of the Rebel Army."

After the Rebellion was entirely extinguished, his Lordship's Friends magnify'd his Loyalty, and the signal Services he had perform'd for his King and Country, and took Care that the Ministry should be inform'd of every Circumstance they might enhance his Merit; so that when he came to petition his Majesty for Pardon for his former Crimes and Offences, he obtain'd it with very little Difficulty.

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In the mean Time *Frazerdale* (of whom frequent Mention has been made in the Course of this History) was attainted of High Treason, whereby his Interest and Estate for Life in the Lands and Barony of *Lovat* became forfeited, and were escheated to the Crown. Whereupon Application was made to his late Majesty in Behalf of his Lordship, setting forth his Right and Claim to that Estate, with all its Honours and Appendages.

His Majesty, ever ready to reward his faithful Servants, was graciously pleas'd to make him a free Gift of *Frazerdale's* Life-rent Escheat; in Right of which his Lordship immediately took Possession of the Estate, and enter'd his Claim to the Honours and Dignity appendant thereto.

Having thus got Possession of his Honours and Estate, his next Business was, to establish his Right to both by due Course of Law. In order to which he consider'd what King of Adversaries he had to deal with.

The first Thing he had do do was, to defeat and set aside the Claim of *Hugh Frazer*, eldest Son of *Frazerdale*, who, as Heir at Law of the last *Hugh Lord Lovat*, claimed the Honours and Title of Lord *Lovat* after his Father's decease, and by Virtue of Settlements, and other legal or colourable Titles, pretended a Right to the Estate. The other Persons he had to deal with, with several Creditors for Debts and Dues chargeable on the Estate,

These,

These, by Advice of Council, brought their Actions in the Court of Sessions against his Lordship, in order to obtain Satisfaction for their said Debts; and the Cause being heard, the Court gave Sentence in Favour of the Plaintiffs.

However his Lordship, not satisfy'd with this Decree, made his Appeal to the House of Lords, who, after a fair and equitable Hearing, revers'd that Decree; since if the Plaintiffs were allow'd their Demands, it would absolutely defeat the Advantage intended by the Gift of the Crown.

By this Judgment of their Lordships, Lord *Lovat* was to have the free and uninterrupted Enjoyment of the Estate during the Life of *Frazerdale*, clear of all Incumbrances.

His Lordship having met with such good Success, did not rest here, but brought his Action in the Court of Sessions against *Hugh Frazer*, who pretended to the Honours of *Lovat*, to establish the Right of Peerage; and in this also he succeeded.

Being thus in full Possession of the Title and Honours of his noble Ancestors, his next Attempt was, to recover the Fee or Remainder of the Estate after the demise of *Frazerdale*.

To this End he commenc'd a Suit against the said *Hugh Frazer*, and after a tedious and expensive Litigation, in which his Adversaries were quite tired out, and not able to support the

the Expence any longer, at length the Parties on both Sides agreed to enter into Bonds of Arbitration, and leave the Matters in Dispute to the Decision of impartial and indifferent Men.

The Arbitrators having weigh'd and discuss'd the different Claims and Pretensions of the Parties, made their Award; which was that the said *Hugh Fraser*, in Consideration of, a considerable Sum of Money to be paid him by the Lord *Lovat*, should, as well for himself, his Heirs, and all other Claimants under him, assign, convey, and make over to his Lordship, and all his and their Right, Title, Interest, Claim and Demand to the Honour and Estate of *Lovat*.

In Consequence of which Award, Deeds were immediately drawn and executed, and executed, and the Securities required given, to assure and confirm to his Lordship his Right and Title to the Estate he had been suing for.

Thus this tedious Suit which had been in Litigation for twelve or fourteen Years, was, the Year 1732, brought to a final Conclusion.

We must now take a Step back again to the Year 1717, when we shall find his Lordship having obtain'd his Pardon, and restor'd to the King's Favour, making his first publick and triumphant Appearance at *Edinburgh*.

If we look back, we shall find his Lordship (thm Capt. *Frazer*) engaged in a Rencounter with the Lord *Salton* and Lord *Mungo Murray*, and seizing and disarming the latter with Threats and Violence, which at that Time he was obliged to submit; but swore and solemnly vow'd, that if ever he should meet with the Captain afterwards, upon equal Terms, he would amply revenge the Insult that was then offer'd to him.

It happen'd that the Lord *Mungo* was at this Time at *Edinburgh*; and walking the High Street one Day, he saw Lord *Lovat* coming towards him as fast as he could.

Lord *Lovat*, it seems, was near sighted, and did not observe him coming; but a Gentleman who was walking with him perceiving the Danger he was in, appriz'd him of it; upon which his Lordship likewise drew, and stood upon his Defence.

Lord *Mungo* seeing his Adversary in a Posture to receive him, thought proper to decline the Engagement, and wheel'd about in order retreat.

The People seeing their Swords drawn, presently crouded about them, which somewhat retarded his Retreat; word *Lovat* perceiving, cry'd out to the People, *Pray, Gentlemen, make Way for Lord Mungo Murray*. Lord *Mungo* accordingly march'd off, and retired to a Place of Safety, and so the Affair ended without Bloodshed.

In the same Year 1717, his Lordship made his Addreses to, and married a Daughter of the Laird of Grant, Sister to the present Sir James Grant, Bart. the Head or Chief of a numerous and powerful Clan, intending thereby to strengthen his Power and Interest amongst the Highlanders; of which Marriage he had Issue two Sons and two Daughters now living.

Not long after the Birth of her last Child this dy'd, and his Lordship married a young Lady of fine Accomplishments, and a nearly related to the noble Family of Argyle, who brought him a Son named *Archibald*.

But such was his cruel and barbarous Usage of this Lady, that being no longer able to bear his harsh and severe Treatment, she was obliged to acquaint her Friends with it, who interpos'd so powerfully in the Affair, that his Lordship was forc'd to consent to a Separation; whereby his Hopes of uniting himself firmly by this Alliance to that great Family, were entirely frustrated, and himself render'd the Object of their Hatred and Contempt.

In the Year 1720, for ever memorable for the South-Sea Scheme, when our Merchants chiefest Traffick was in *Change Alley*, our Tradesmen left their Bills unpaid to go a bubbling, and our Noblemen turn'd Stock-jobbers.

This my Lord *Lovel* thought a propitious Opportunity to make some Additions to his Fortune.

To this End he gather'd in his Rents as fast as he could, and by that Means rais'd a considerable Sum of Mon; with which he intended to go to the common Market, where Noblemen and Citizens, City Knights, Country 'Squires, Bites. Sharpers, Fools and Knaves, were all blended together in a Group or Figures, which by a Cast of Mr. *Hogarth's* Art, would have made a pretty grotesque Picture.

His Lordship herd among them for some Time, before he offer'd to deal with them, in order to observe their Method of Trade and Management.

He soon perceiv'd that the Foundation of all this mighty Bustle was merely chimerical; and that very possibly he might be bit himself in endeavouring to bite others; for he rightly judg'd, that the Whole was a Bite and a Cheat contrived by some of the knowing Ones to raise Estates out of the Ruins of the Publick.

This he revolv'd in his Thoughts for some Time; till at length he was convinc'd that the surest Way to traffick safely was, to make one of those who were in a Secret. He consider'd too, that Mr. *Knigh*, who was the Cashier of the South-Sea Company, was the most proper Person he could apply to this Occasion.

He

He soon made himself acquainted with that Gentlemen; and after several Consultations, he lodg'd a considerable Sum in Mr. Knight's Hands, which some will tell you, amounted to four or five thousand Pounds.

Mr. Knight was to buy and sell, and transact the whole Affair, for which he was to be allow'd a Fourth of the Profits, and to account once a Week to his Lordship: For the first Fortnight or three Weeks Matters went on swimmingly; and Mr. Knight made it appear that he had in that Time got two thousand Pounds clear, and advised his Lordship not to pocket it, but lay it all out in buying more Stock.

This his Lordship agreed to, and in a little Time he doubled and trebled his Principal. His Lordship was now in high Spirits, and firmly perswaded of being immensely rich in a very short Time.

But no Joy, no Happiness in this World is permant! The Scheme was strain'd to the very highest Pitch, and Stock was raised to near a Thousand *per Cent.* when all of a sudden it fell to nothing; there were no Buyers, and consequently the Sellers had no Market; the Directors and others who were in the Secret, having fledg'd their Neys, retir'd, Mr. Knight absconded, and in short, my Lord Lovat was left in the Lurch.

Some

Some Time after this, namely, in or about the Year 1724, an Affair happen'd which had like to have prov'd more fatal to his Lordship, than any Thing that had ever occur'd to him in his whole Life.

His Lordship, tho' he was then above forty Years of Age, had still an Itch for Gallantry, and was at first Sight enamoured with any fine Lady whom Fortune threw in his Way. It happen'd that the *Spanish* Ambassador had a Lady in his Retinue, who, in Reality, was his Excellency's Mistress, but went under the Name of his Niece, and came over to see the Fashions of the *English* Court, Dress, Manners, and whatever else was agreeable to the Taste of a gay Lady.

This Lady's Name, according to my best Information, was *Donna Eleonora Melissa Spezza*; but of what Quality her Family in Spain was, I could never learn.

This Lady, by the Permission of his Excellency, yet under the Care and Inspection of an old Governante, went to all the Assemblies, Plays, Operas, and other Places where the young and gay Part of the Nobility resorted.

Donna Eleonora was a Lady of a free and easy Carriage, had a Sparkling Eye, agreeable Features tho' she was not what we call a regular Beauty, but being set off with a Glare of Jewels and fine Dress, after the *Spanish* Mode she attracted the Eyes of Spectators where ever

ever she went, and had not a few Admirers.

The Fame of this Lady had reach'd the Ears of Lord Lovat, and immediately fired him with an eager Desire to see her; and an Opportunity soon offer'd, which was at the Opera in the Haymarket; where, placing himself in a Box next to that where she sat, he had her full in his Eye, and was so charm'd with her Person, that he could not resist the Inclination he found in himself of entering into conversation with her; and as he had a Smattering of the *Spanish* Tongue, which he learn'd when he was in *French*, by keeping Company with some *Spanish* Gentlemen, and could speak it well enough to be understood by her; he paid his Respects to her in that Language, but was sometimes a little perplex'd to comprehend her Meaning in her Replies to him. To remedy this Inconvenience, he spoke to her in *French*, of which he was perfect Master, hoping that she as was acquainted with it as himself; and indeed found her so.

Upon which the Conversation was free and easy on both Sides.

In Conclusion, when the Opera was ended, he intreated the Honour of handing her to her Chair; and in taking his Leave, gave her a private Whisper, that he should be infinitely proud of a more intimate Acquaintance with her Ladyship.

The

The Duke of *Wharton*, who was then a young Man, gay and sprightly, had, before this, had an Interview with the same Lady, and had even danc'd with her in a publick Assembly at the Court, and was so charm'd with her Behaviour, that he became quite enamour'd with her; nor was he backward in acquainting *Elegnora* with the Passion he had for her.

Whether his Professions and Protestations of Love made any Impressions upon the Heart of the Lady, I cannot say; however, while a Lover lives in Hopes, the least Apprehension of his being depriv'd of the Object of his Affections, fires his Soul in a Moment, and he presently denounces Death and Destruction to the Man who shall dare to make the Attempt.

It happen'd, a little unluckily indeed, that his Grace was at the Opera, when the above-mentioned Conversation pass'd between my Lord *Low* and *Donna Eleanora*; and you may be sure he had his Eye constantly on the Watch.

He saw, with the utmost Pain and Vexation, the familiar Converse between them; but when he saw his Lordship gallant the Lady to her Chair, his very Blood boil'd in his Veins, and he was forc'd to summon all his Reason to his Assistance to suppress his Passion, which, else, would have had Cause to repent afterwards.

But

But giving himself a Moment's Time to reflect, he goes to a Tavern hard by, and calling for a Pen and Ink, wrote the following Billet.

My Lord,

The Lady with whom you have been so very familiar this Evening, is the Object of my best Affections, and therefore I must request of your Lordship that you will promise and declare, in positive and express Terms, that you immediately and for ever desist from prosecuting any Affair, or amorous Intrigue with her, that you will never seek her Acquaintance, or be seen in her Company hereafter.

Nothing less than such a Promise and Declaration, and the exact Performance of it, can give Peace to my Soul, or Satisfaction to my injured Honour. I expect your Compliance without the least Hesitation, Evasion, or Reserve; or that you will meet me by Five o'Clock To-morrow Morning under the Trees in *Hyde Park*, singly, or in what Manner you appoint.

I shall wait here for your Answer by the Bearer.

I am your Lordship's most humble Servant,

WHARTON.

Having

Having sealed the Letter, he call'd one of the Tavern-Boys, and order'd him to deliver it to my Lord *Loval*, whom he would find at such a Coffee-house as he nam'd, where he knew his Lordship spent his Evenings after the Play was over. The Boy found his Lordship according to his Directions, and gave him the Letter. His Lordship was wonderfully surpriz'd upon reading the Contents of it; however, an Answer must be given to it; and as Love and Honour were things not to be trifled with, after a little Consideration, he called for Pen and Ink, and wrote as follows:

“ My Lord Duke,

I have read your Billet with Attention; but surely your Grace must be little acquainted with my Character, if you imagine I am to be terrified with big Words. None of the Family of *Loval* were ever Cowards, or of a Temper to be frightened from any Purpose or Engagement they had once resolv'd upon. 'Tis true, I have this Evening been in Company with the Lady you mention, and more, am pleas'd with her Conversation. To promise or declare, then, as you a little too haughtily require, that I will immediately break off all Manner of Correspondence with her, would discover such a Puynllanimity, as would ill become my Birth and Dignity.

I shall

I shall chuse rather to meet you at the Place
you have appointed, alone, arm'd with Sword
and Pistol. 'Till when I am,

Your Grace's most humble Servant,

LOVAT."

Having sealed the Letter, he gave it to the
Boy, who returning to the Duke, deliver'd it
to him, which his Grace having read, put it
in his Pocket, and then went Home to Bed;
but took Care not to oversleep himself, being
up soon after four in the Morning. He took
but little Time to put himself in Readiness,
and was in *Hyde Park* precisely at five o'Clock.
He walk'd on till he came under some Trees,
where stopping, he turn'd about, and saw Lord
Lovat advancing towards him; as soon as he
came up, both of them suddenly stript, and
presented their Pistols. Lord *Lovat* let fly
first, but doing no Execution, the Duke fir'd
over his Head. They then drew their Swords,
and the Attack was very furious on both Sides;
but the Duke being young and nimble, was
too active for his Lordship, and having push'd
him hard, his Lordship, to avoid a home
Thrust that his Grace made at him, stept
backwards, and hitting his Heel against the
Stump of a Tree, stumbled and fell, and so
became wholly at his Grace's Mercy; who
had Honour enough not to take the Life which
now mere Accident had put in his Power.
However, his Lordship had enough of the
No. 32 I i Combat

Combat, and told his Grace, he freely resign-
ed all his Pretensions to the Lady, and would
never concern himself any more about her ;
only requesting his Grace, that as Nobody had
been made privy to this Affair, he would be so
generous as still to keep it a Secret ; which his
Grace promised, and they came into Town to-
gether very good Friends ; nor did any Body
know any Thing of the Matter, but them-
selves, till the Duke went abroad ; when his
Grace, thinking he was free from his Engage-
ment of concealing it, made no scruple to tell
the Story among his Friends ; by which
Means it came to be known more publickly.

Simou, his Lordship's eldest Son, who, by
the Custom of *Scotland*, is called Master of
Lovat, is supposed to be now in the twentieth
Year of his Age ; a Youth of a general good
Character, pregnant Parts, mild and affable
Disposition, and remarkable for his sincere and
honest Mind ; such Qualities as his Father had
been always a Stranger to, and, therefore,
could not esteem in his Son ; but on the Con-
trary, us'd him with a great deal of Harshness
and Severity, and train'd him up from his In-
fancy in such a slavish Subjection, as if he had
been a Child of one of his Menials, and not as
his eldest Son, and Heir to his Honours and
Estate on his Decease.

Such as were real Friends to the Family of
Lovat, conceived great Hopes from the early
Virtues that appear'd in this Young Man ; but
all

all their promising Expectations were suddenly dash'd, when they saw him engag'd in the Rebellion, even in the very beginning of it; but as they were sensible that this Conduct of the Youth was directed by the Authority of his Father, by which he was unhapily prevail'd upon to renounce that Duty and Allegiance to his King and Country, he merited their Pity rather than their Anger or Resentment. It was certainly a very unfortunate Circumstance in the Lives of this Youth and his Brother, that they had their Education under a Father, who inculcated Principles into them, destructive of the Government under whose Protection they liv'd, and pernicious in their Effects, of which the Master of Lovat is, at this Time, a melancholy Instance.

In or about the year 1737, Information was given to one of the secretaries of state, that his lordship was buying up large quantities of arms, such as musquets, broad-swords and targets, &c. which he pretended were for the use of his Independent company; but men of sense knew better, and suspecting his designs, inform'd the Ministry of their apprehensions. A certain great man at Court and a real friend of lord Lovat, understanding what his lordship had been charged with, wrote to him, and entreated him that he would give him true him a true and ingenuous account of the affair and that he would not conceal or disguise the truth, that so he might be the better enabled to do him any service in his power. He accordingly sent him a full and true account of the affair, and of the reasons which had led him to it. He also sent him a list of the names of the persons who were concerned in it, and of the names of the persons who were concerned in it.

Service with the government, with respect to what his lordship had been charged with.

This great Person further told his Lordship, that some Persons were under great Apprehensions on Account of another Part of his Lordship's Conduct; namely, that he intended to send his Sons to France for their Education; but advis'd his Lordship to consider well what he did in that Case, and the bad Consequences of such a Proceeding; that, in his Opinion, his Lordship would do much better to send them to London, in which Case, he himself would undertake the Care and the Charge of their Education, without a Farthing expence to him. This generous Offer, so freely made by this Nobleman, produced any Alteration in the Schemes which Lord Lovat had form'd; tho' he had no other View in it than to save him and his Family from apparent Destruction.

But tho' this Wife and wholsome Counsel of his noble Friend made no Impression on his Lordship, and tho' he turn'd a deaf Ear to his friendly and disinterested Advice, yet he had so much Complaisance, as to make his grateful Acknowledgements to the Nobleman, for the Care and Friendship he had express'd for him; however, instead of confessing himself guilty of any of those Crimes with he had been charged, of plotting against the government, and raising and fomenting any Disturbances in the Country, he stood upon his Justification;

in several long Letters to his noble Friend, insisted on his Innocence, and endeavour'd to clear himself from those foul Aspersions that were thrown on his Character.

But all his Arguments were so shuffling and evasive, as plainly shew'd that he did not care to come to an Ecclaircisment of his Actions; and instead of convincing his Friend by Reason and Facts, deduc'd from his present Conduct, fill'd his Letters with Boastings of the great Services he had done the Government in the Year 1715, which, he ought for ever to free him from the Imputation of Disloyalty to his present Majesty, or Dissaffection to the Government.

His Lordship however acted with a little more Caution afterwards, and carried Matters so cunningly, that no Umbrage could be taken at his Actions for some Time; yet still he retain'd the same Views as he ever had, notwithstanding his pretended Allegiance, and the many Obligations he was under to the present reigning Family; but now, perceiving himself suspected, he carried on his Designs more closely than he had hitherto done; as we shall presently see.

His Lordship's eldest Daughter being marriageable, he consider'd in what Manner he should dispose of her, so as to strengthen himself with some powerful Alliance that would be of Service to him in Case of any Emergency.

After

After he had call'd over in his Minp the Names of the several Gentlemen round the Country, and consider'd their respective Circumstances, Principles and Power, he at last pitch'd upon the Laird of *Cluny*, Chief of the Clae of *M^cPhersons*. To him he resolv'd to match his Daughter, and immediately set on Foot a Treaty for that Purpose; and in a little Time, all Matters being agreed upon, in the Year 1740, they were married.

He might, no doubt, have found out a Family more honourable and opulent to match his Daughter into; but riches and Honours were not his Considerations that induc'd his Lordship to contract this Alliance; but he consider'd this Gentleman as the Head of a numerous Clan, bold, daring and intrepid, and which could afford him a powerful Assistance upon all future Occasions; and lying also in his Neighbourhood, he had the better Opportunity of working them into his own Schemes.

Nor is it uncharitable to suppose, that it was by his Lordship's Influence and Persuasion that this Clan was prevail'd upon to join the Rebels, under Mr. *M^cPherson* their Chief, though he had, at that Time, the Company in Lord *Loudon's* Regiment.

The Highlanders having for some Ages past made a mighty Noise in the World, and their very Name, to those who knew nothing of them but by Hearsay, has been always terrible; and they are the People who brought so much

much terror and Destruction into the Kingdom in the late Rebellion; the Reader, I believe, will not be offended, if we give him a general Description of their Character and Manner of Life, especially as we are now got in the Midst of them, and shall presently have Business with them. Buchanan, and other Scots Historians, give them the following Character.

They are as parsimonious as the Antients in their Diet, Apparel, and Furniture. They fish and hunt for their Food, and while they hunt, eat it raw, after having squeezed out the Blood. Their Drink is Meat-Broth, or else Whey, of which they have Plenty at their Entertainments; but most of them drink Water. Their Bread is a very artful Preparation or Composition of Oats and Barley, the only Grain which their Country produces. After eating a little of it in the Morning, they hunt, or go about their Business, without eating any more till Night.

They delight most in Cloaths of several Colours, especially striped, and the Colours they are fondest of are Purple and Blue.

Their Ancestors, as many of them do still, made use of Plaids very much variegated; but now they make them rather of dark Colours more like the Crops of Heath, that they may not be discovered while they lie in the Heaths waiting for Game.

Being rather wrapped up than covered with those Plaids, they endure all the Rigours of the Seasons, and sometimes sleep cover'd all over with Snow.

At home they lie upon the Ground, having under them Fern or Heath (cover'd with a Sheet or Blanket) the latter laid with the Roots undermost, so that 'tis almost as soft as soft as Feathers, and much more healthful; for the Quality of Heath being to draw out superfluous Humours, when they lie down weary and faint upon it at Night, they rise fresh and vigorous in the Morning.

They affect this hard Way of sleeping; and if ever they happen to come into places where there is better Accommodation, they pull the Coverings off the Bed, and lie down upon them wrapped in their Plaids, lest they should be spoiled by what they call such a *barbarous Effeminacy*.

The old Scots Language, called *Erse*, has lost so much Ground by the spreading of the *English* into Scotland ever since the Norman Conquest, that 'tis now confined to the Highlands and Isles, where most of the People of Note do also understand and speak *English*.

Mr. Macky, who tells us, that the Highlanders differ as much from the Lowlanders in their Dress, Manners, and Language, as the *Indians* in *Mexico* do from the *Spaniards*, says, that the old Scots Language is here spoke in its genuine Character, which is more like the

Greek

Greek or *Hebrew* than the *Roman*; whereas the *Welsh*, though they have preserved their Language, yet they have entirely lost their old Character, and write in the *Roman*.

'Tis presumed that we cannot have a better Authority for what remains to be said of the Nature of the Highlanders, whom *Tacitus* calls *Horesti*, i.e. *Montani*, or Mountaineers, than the Account which is given of them by that eminent Antiquary, Sir *James Dalrymple*, Uncle to the present Earl of *Stair*, in his *Observations on Camden's Britannia*. And this we shall give in his own Words, viz.

“ The Inhabitants of these Regions are a Kind of rude, warlike, quarrelsome, and mischievous People; who being the unmix'd Progeny of the antient *Scots*, speak *Irish*, and call themselves *Albanick*: Their Bodies are firmly and compactly made, withal strong and nimble of Foot, high minded, bred in Warlike Exercises, and inured to Robberies on their Neighbours, and, upon a Hatred, most desperately forward to take Revenge. They live by Hunting, Fishing, Fowling, and Stealing; and, like the *Spaniards*, wear long Hair. They are divided in Kindreds and Families, which they call Clans, and are so united to the Cause of their own particular Clans, that there is an Act of Parliament, that if any one of a Clan does a Mischief, the whole Clan is answerable for it; and they must either deliver up the Aggressor, or the first Man of the

Clan that is apprehended suffers for it; and the whole Clan bears Feud for Hurt received by any one Member of it, even altho' they suffer justly. Many Gentlemen in the Highlands shun one another's Company, lest they should revive a Quarrel that happened between their Fore-fathers, perhaps three hundred Years ago. They are also as warm in their Friendships, for if they meet with one of the Name in Amity with their own Clan, be it in any Country of the World, there is immediately the most intimate Friendship. The *Mackdonalds* are by much the most powerful of all the Clans.

They are divided into four Classes, and inhabit distinct Countries.

The *Mackdonalds* of *Glengary*, dwell upon the *Lochness*; the *Mackdonalds* of *Slate* in *Lochaber* and the *Isle of Skye*; the Captain of *Clan-Ronald*, and *Mackdonald* of *Keppoch*, and those of *Kintyre*, towards *Argyleshire*. The other Clans, *Clan-Katin*, *Clan-Cameron*, the *Macleans*, and almost innumerable other *Macs*, altho' independant one of another, yet are entirely guided by the *Mackdonalds*, who have been so powerful, as often to assume the Name of King of the *Isles*; and one of them, in 1461, according to Mr. *Rymer's* *Fœdera*, enter'd into a League with *Edward IV.* of *England*, against the King of *Scotland*.

Robert,

Robert, the first of the *Stuarts* Kings of *Scotland*, married his Daughter *Margaret* to *McDonald*, Lord of the *Isles*, to secure him in his Interest; but all would not do; they were the common Disturbers of the Nation till King *James V.* privately, with a Body of Men, took Shipping, and landed in every Clan and Island, and brought them in Person to his Obedience, making them give Hostages for their good Behaviour. Thus far Sir James.

Besides the Methods taken, as we have already mentioned, for reducing and reforming the *Highlanders*, 'tis proper just to take notice of two or three Acts passed in the Reign of King *George I.* which have not a little contributed to that End, viz.

(I.) 1 *Geo.* cap. 20. An Act for encouraging all Superiors, Vassals, Landlords and Tenants, who continue loyal to *K. George*.

(II.) 1 *Geo.* cap. 54. An Act enjoining, That the personal Service and Attendance which was wont to be paid to the Heads of Clans and Owners of Estates, at the Pleasure of such Chiefs, under the Names of personal Attendance, Hosting, Hunting, Watching, and Warding, shall be for the future paid in Money annually; and the said personal Service, &c. shall be utterly annulled. This Act was further enforced the 11th of the same Reign, cap. 26. on the Non-Observance of the former, by many of the Contemptuous *Highlanders*.

(III.)

(III.) *Geo. I. cap. 54.* An Act for more effectual securing the Peace of the Highlands in *Scotland*, which enacted, ' That no Person within the said Highlands, shall use or bear Broad Swords or Target, Ponyard, Wingar or Durk, Side-pistol or Gun, or any warlike Weapons in the Fields, or in the Way to or from any Church, Market, Fair, Burial, Huntings, Meetings, &c. However not to extend to Noblemen, Officers of Justice, or Commoners, having yearly 400 *l. Scots*, or who are otherwise qualified to vote at Elections for Parliament-men; allowing to every such Commoner two Firelocks, two Pair of Pistols, and two Swords; and that the Magistrates of the Royal Burghs may keep Arms in Magazines.

Let us now return to Lord *Loval*, and take a view of his Behaviour and Sentiments in Relation to the Clans particularly his own. The Opinion which he endeavour'd to inculcate on all Occasions was, that the Chiefs in respect of his Authority among his own People, was absolute and uncontrollable, and that they ought to pay a blind and unlimited Obedience to his Will and Pleasure, from which no power on Earth could absolve them; that they ought always to be in Readiness to assist him upon every Summons, without asking why or wherefore, or enquiring into the Merits or Justifiableness of the Action they were order'd upon; that his Will ought to be their Law; and

and that his Resentment of an Injury, sufficiently justified them in taking his Part in the Quarrel, whether it was right or wrong.

While his Lordship was pursuing his Adversities in a Course of Law, to recover the Honours and Estates, which he claim'd by Right of Inheritance, he had another Thing to prosecute, which was almost of as great an Importance to him as that; namely, the Establishment of his Authority and Dignity among his Clan of *Frasers*. Forr though they were almost all of them his Vassals, Tenants and Dependants, yet they must by some Means or other be brought to acknowledge his Supremacy and Sovereignty over them; otherwise when some Emergency required their Service and Attendance, they might assume their natural Right of Independency, and so refuse their Service when most wanted.

In order to gain this important Point, he took the Pains, by subtle Insinuations, to convince them that Trade and laborious Employments would be of little signification to them, for he well knew, that if they fell into Business, they would soon be capable of getting a comfortable Subsistence independent of him; or if they should take it in their Heads to go to Sea, and seek their Fortunes abroad, he should lose a good Number of serviceable Hands; or if they should happen to fancy, that by going into Trade, they should better their Circumstances, and so join themselves to
som

to form trading Societies or Corporations,
they would shake off their Subjection to
him.

prevent any Accidents of this Nature, he endeavour'd by all Means to encourage Trade, Industry, and every Improvement as well in Agriculture as in the Mechanicks, and preach'd up the Heroism of their Ancestors, who far from stooping to the Meannesses of Trade and laborous Occupations, made them selves famous to future Ages by their Prowess and martial Actions, they never enervated their Bodies or debased their Minds with Labours fit only for Beasts, or stupid Drudges undergo; and he was fully persuaded that the same generous Blood still run in the Veins of all his brave *Erasers*, as animated their unconquerable Ancestors to the noblest Deeds of Heroism.

But an Accident happen'd, that contribut
ed more than all his Arguments to establish the
Sovereignty which he so earnestly sought to
acquire over them.

The Government had already been very liberal to his Lordship, and bestowed many Favours on him in Consideration of the Services he had done his King and Country in the Year 1715.

And as he took Care not to forfeit the good Opinion of the Care nor to forfeit the good Opinion of of the Court, he was still regarded with a favourable Eye; and in the Year

1724, obtained the Command of an Independent Company of Highlanders; which gave him a fine Opportunity of keeping his *Frasers* from pursuing the *pernicious Inclination*, which he perceived in many of them, of going into *Trape and Businels*; by shewing them that it was now in his Power to make them all Gentlemen. This hit their Humour to a Hair, and answered his Purpose of maintaining his Sovereignty.

His Lordship having thus gained his Point, and having likewise overthrown his Adversaries, whom he had sued for the Recovery of the Honours and Estate of *Novat*; he quickly laid aside his fawning and gentle Behaviour to his Vassals and Dependants; and let them know that he expected their Homage and unlimited Obedience; that he was their absolute Sovereign, and that their Lives, and all that they possessed in the World, was wholly at his Disposal.

He had been so long abroad, and had adopted so much of the Practice and Policy of *France* and *Rome*, that he had almost forgot the Constitution of his own Country. The Farmers and Tenants had their Rents raised so high, that many of them were forced to quit their Farms, while others were reduced to the most miserable Condition.

As to the Gentlemen, who were his *Vassals* by *Tenure*, his Method of raising Money from was, by plaguing them with Suits of Law, and

and compelling them to make out their Titles to their Estates, in which if, for want of sufficient Proof, they happened to fail, he would insist upon Forfeitures and Escheats. And if a Man was not well enough money'd to stand a long litigious Suit at Law, he stood a Chance of losing his Estate.

This arbitrary and oppressive Procedure of his Lordship, justly alarmed the Gentlemen who held under him. To prevent their utter Ruin [for they expected no less if he was suffer'd to go on unoppos'd in his litigious and oppressive Schemes] after having maturely deliberated what was best to be done, at a Meeting held in the Year 1738, they came unanimously to a Resolution to join their Interests, and make the Defence of each of them the common Cause; and that in Case his Lordship should prove too hard for their whole Body, and force them to spend all their Money, and deprive them of all other Means of defending themselves against his Tyranny and oppressions they would unite their Arms, and relieve themselves by their Swords. His Lordship being inform'd of this Confederacy against him, soon perceiv'd that he must alter his measures, or he should soon see the dependency of all his Vassals, which he had been at so much Pains to cultivate and acquire. And besides, having probably some other Schemes upon the Anvil, in the Execution of which he should have Occasion for the Assistance of these Gentlemen,

lemen, he ordered his Lawyers to put a Stop to the Actions he had commenced against them; treated them civilly, and excus'd in the best manner he cou'd, the Severities which he had used to any of them. By these gentle Methods he brought them over again to his Interest, and was assured of their Service, whenever he stood in Need of it.

No Man ever us'd his Servants with such Austerity as his Lordship. His Stewards, Receivers and Agents could never prevail on him to settle their Accounts; which, one would think, was a little odd; but he had his Views in it. Thus when he wanted to pick a Quarrel with any of them (which he was sure to do if they were so imprudent as ask for their Wages) he charged them with Frauds and Deficiencies in their Payments and Disbursements, and unless they would submit to his Terms, threatened them with Actions at Law; and he was too powerful for such as they to engage with in a Suit of Law.

His Inferior Servants and Domesticks were used much worse if possible. If he had a mind to turn any of them away, or if they wanted to quit his Service, and ask'd for their Wages, his Way was to charge them with Theft, or some heinous Offence, which he had Witnesses always ready to prove, he would, by his own Authority, send them to the *Pit of Beaulieu* about a Mile off, a dismal Dungeon or Cave, without Light or Air, or any other Convenience

whatever, where Toads and Vermin were their Constant Companions, and where they must inevitably perish, if the Keeper more humane than his Lord, did not frequently take them out and lodge them in his own House. When the Prisoners had made a proper Acknowledgment of their pretended Crimes, and comply'd with the Terms propos'd by his Lordship, he gave Orders for their Liberty. His female Servants fared no better, if they refus'd to submit to his lustful Desires. This, no doubt, will appear to the Reader so incredible, that in a Land of Liberty, and where the Laws have their due Execution, such Enormities should be committed, that he will rather think it a Fiction of the Author, to blacken the Character of this Nobleman, than a Relation of Matters of Fact : But whoever is acquainted with the Poverty and abject Slavery of these People, and knows the absolute Sovereignty of their Chiefs over them, will not think it strange; nor do there want living Witnesses, who have wofully experienc'd their Barbarities.

Some three or four Years after his Lordship, by the Favour of the Crown, came into the Possession of the Honours and Estate of *Lovat*, his Lordship happen'd to have some Misunderstanding with one Mr. *Robertson*, whom the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, formerly mentioned, had appointed Receiver of her Rents.

In the Year 1719, this Gentleman's Barns, Out-houses, and Stacks of Corn and Hay, were, in the Dead of the Night, set on Fire, and entirely consumed.

It was easily judg'd that this was not an accidental Fire, because that very Night, a Number of Persons, armed and disguis'd, were seen very busy about the Place where the Fire was.

His Lordship was suspected of being the Contriver of this tragical Scene, and that his Agents or Servants had done it. Mr. *Robertson* was advised to prosecute the Villains; but, perhaps, for want of sufficient Proof, or considering that his Adversary was too powerful for him, he rather chose quietly to submit to the Loss.

We shall in the next Place give a Specimen of his Lordship's Gratitude, which he is as famous for as any other Virtue. Mr. *Frazer* of *Phopaebie*, a Man of Learning and good Sense, a fast Friend to his Lordship under all his Misfortunes, and who in the Year 1715, was very instrumental in keeping the Clan steadfast in his Interests, notwithstanding the Persecutions of *Frazerdalk* to join with him in the Rebellion: This Gentleman had the principal Direction of his Lordship's Domestick Affairs, during the Contests in Law between him his Adversaries, both at *Edinburgh* and *London*. When his Lordship returned home, Mr. *Frazer* settled and adjusted Accounts with him, and

the Balance a considerable Sum of Money appear'd to be due due to Mr. *Frazer*.

Upon which his Lordship found some Pretence to quarrel with him, and threaten'd him with a Suit.

Mr. *Frazer*, knowing the Man he had to deal with, rather than to go Law with him, offer'd to refer the matter in Dispute to the Arbitration of two indifferent Men; which his Lordship agreed to; and Mr. *Cuthbert* of Castlehill was chosen on the Part of his Lordship, and Mr. *Chevis* on the Part of Mr. *Frazer*.

The Arbitrators having strictly examin'd the Pretensions on both Sides, awarded, that Lord *Lovat* was indebted to Mr. *Frazer* in a considerable Sum.

His Lordship exclaimed against the Award as partial and unjust, and that Castlehill had betray'd his Trust.

The Consequence of which was, that not many Days after the Award was made and publish'd, Castlehill's Inclosures, Fences and Parks, lying about two Miles from Inverness, were, in the Middle of the Night, broke down by a Party of Highlanders armed and disguised, who kill'd, hamstring'd and destroy'd above a hundred of his Milch-Cows and other Cattle, being his whole Stock, which he reckoned as a greater Loss, as the Cows were a Breed of a better Kind than were in that Part of the Country.

But

But though this wicked Design was so cunningly laid and executed, that the Authors could not be certainly known, no Body doubted but Lord Lovat was the execrable contriver of it.

However this was not enough to satisfy his Lordship's Revenge; the Arbitration did not please him, and he resolv'd, if possible, to set it aside.

For this End he brought it into the Court of Session, where the Matter was litigated for a long while; nor was it ended before Mr. Frazer's Death, but was at last determined in Favour of the present Representative of that Family.

His Lordship had not commenc'd his suit against Mr. Frazer but a very little while before an affair of an extraordinary Nature happen'd.

Mr. Frazer's House at Phopachy, about three or four miles from my Lord's seat at Castledouny, was one Night beset with Highlanders arm'd and disguised, who burst open the Gates, Doors and Locks, and three of them entering the House, searched every Room for Mr. Frazer, who happen'd that Night to be abroad.

*Being thus disappointed, they us'd his Daughters very cruelly, binding them to the bed-posts, and gagging them, to prevent their alarming the Servants in the Out-houses. However, a Servant maid, a strong resolute Wench, made a stout Resistance, for which one of them stabb'd her with a Durk in the thigh; but she got the Weapon out of
the*

the Fellow's hand, and Defended herself manfully, roaring, and bawling all the while, till she had rouz'd the servants, who getting together some Neighbours, attack'd the Villains that surrounded the House, who presently made off, but left two of their Accomplices in the house, who after a desperate Resistance were taken Prisoners and carried to Gaol, and were afterwards tried at the Circuit at Inverness, and capitally convicted of House breaking, or Hamesucken, as it is called in Scotland. But no Arguments could persuade either of them to make the least Discovery who were their Accomplices, or who employed them in so detestable an Action; so strongly attach'd were these Wretches to their Chief.

Fame, however, was malicious enough to report, that his Lordship's Agents encourag'd 'em in their Obstinacy, by buoying them up with Hopes of a Pardon; and they were actually reprieved for six Weeks, and again assured of a Pardon, and such Assurances renewed to the very Day of their Execution, when they received the just Reward of Crimes. But it seems a Clergyman of *Inverness* prevail'd upon one of them, under a Promise of Secrecy, to confess, that he and his Accomplices were employ'd by an Agent of his Lordship's to murder Mr. *Frazer*; that they were likewise set to work by the same Agent to destroy *Castlehill's* Cattle; and to set Fire to Mr. *Robertson's* Corn and Barns.

The

The Clergyman who took this Confession, put it into Writing, and shew'd it only to a few Friends. Thus it became the general Opinion, that his Lordship was the first Mover of all the Villainies, but every one dreading his revengeful Temper, Nobody durst openly disclose their Thoughts.

His Lordship had received many Favours from Mr. *Forbes* of *Culloden*, and his Brother the Lord President of the Court of Session, now the worthy Representative of that honourable and loyal Family.

In the Year 1715, Mr. *Forbes*, by his great Interest at Court procured him a Pass to go to *Scotland*, and afterwards by the Assistance of his Brother, greatly contributed to his being restor'd to the Favour of the Government.

Mr. *Forbes*, at the Hazard of his Life, conducted his Lordship thro' *Inverness*, when that Town was in the Hands of the Rebels; by which Means He join'd His Clan, and perform'd those Services which laid the Foundation of his future good Fortune.

The Lord President was for many Years his standing Council, or Advocate in all his Causes, which Offices he generously executed without Fee or Reward.

Mr. *Forbes* was for many Years chosen Representative in Parliament for the Shire of *Inverness*, chiefly by the Interest of Lord *Lovat*.

But

But when his Lordship was pretty well settled in his Honours and Estate, and the friendship of the Forbes's was no longer necessary to him, he chang'd Hands, and at the next Election gave his Interest to Sir James Grant, in Opposition to Mr. Forbes, and the Former was chosen ; which made such a deep Impression on Mr. Forbes, that he did not long survive it ; his Lordship's Excuse was, that Sir James was nearly allied to him, and therefore he could not refuse him his Interest.

But it was evident in many Instances, that Lord Lovat was never constant to any Cause or Party any longer than it served his Interest and private Views, for at the very next General Election he opposed Sir James Grant, in Favour of M^r. Leod, a Person who had been always a strenuous Asserter of Fraserdale's Rights and Pretensions, all the while his Lordship was at Law with that Family.

Such an Inconsistency in our Lord's Conduct can scarce be accounted for, except we impute it to Honour and Caprice, which often had as much Share in his Lordship's Actions, even as Self-Interest.

But notwithstanding the Sufferings and Hardships of his Vassals and Dependants from his Tyranny and Oppressions, and though his best Friends often experienced his Baseness and Ingratitude, we find him mighty generous and kind to those who would submit to be his Tools and Instruments to execute his Villainous Designs.

signs, Of this we have an Instance in *Donal Gruomach*, a Wretch, who for many Years had been a notorious Thief, but was known to be retained in his Lordship's Service in the Execution of any villainous Scheme. At last he was apprehended, and in the Year 1742 committed to *Dingual Gaol* in *Ross-Shire*, for a Robbery of which he was found guilty.

His Lordship, unwilling to part with so useful a Tool, sent a Party of armed Highlanders in Disguise, to break open the Prison in the Night, and rescue the Prisoner: But the Magistrates being aware of his Design, secured the Prison from any Attempts of that Sort, and the Villain was hang'd.

We have before intimated the blind and zealous Attachment of the Clans to their Chiefs. An Instance of which take as follows. At a Meeting of the Free-holders and Collectors of the Land-Tax, at the Court House at *Inverness* in the Year 1744, for the Choice of a Collector of the Cels or Land-Tax, where were present Lord *Lovat*, Lord President, Lord *Fortrose*, and the Laird of *M-Leod*; on some Dispute between the Lords, *Lovat* and *Fortrose*, the former was so provok'd as to give the other the Lie; upon which the latter struck the other a Blow on his Face with his Fist; which his Lordship, notwithstanding his great Age, return'd with several strokes of his Cane, the other Gentlemen interposing, they were parted.

One *Frazer* of *Foyer*, afterwards in the Rebellion, being in the Gallery, and seeing the Indignity that was offer'd to his Chief, jump'd suddenly into the Court, and presented his Pistol to Lord *Fortrose's* Face; Lord President threw himself between them, which so irritated *Foyer*, that he would have shot him, or Lord *Fortrose*, or both of them; but was prevented by a Gentleman standing by, who nimbly threw his Plaid over the Pistol, which prevented the threaten'd Mischief.

Weapons of all Sorts were immediately drawn on both sides, and a bloody skirmish was likely to ensue. To prevent which Lord President and Mr. *M'Leod* prevail'd on Lord *Fortrose* to go with them out of the Court-house into the Street; where another of the *Lovat* Clan, having heard how his Chief had been affronted, rush'd suddenly on Lord *Fortrose*, and as he was walking between Lord President and Mr. *M'Leod*, knock'd him down with a long stick.

Both Parties being prodigiously irritated with these reciprocal Insults, dangerous Consequences, it was fear'd, would ensue, and Resentments carried to Extremities between the *Frasers* and *M'Kenzies*, two powerful and Neighbouring Clans; but the Lord President and other Friends interposing, the Parties were at length reconciled.

In the next Place we shall give a Touch of his Lordship's Vanity. In the Year 1736, his Lordship

Lordship erected a noble Monument in the Churchyard of *Kirkbill*, not far from *Castledouny*.

The Inscription upon it set forth in a very pompous Stile, his own heroic Virtues and great Exploits, and in particular, what wonderful Things he had done for the Honour and Interest of his Family and Clan.

It happened that Sir *Robert Munro*, who fell in the Battle of *Falkirk*, being on a Visit to his Lordship, desired to have a view of his famous Monument, and upon seeing of it, said jocularly to him, Prithce, *Simon*, what was in thy Head to put up such a boasting and romantick Inscription; who the De'el will believe a Word of it? To which his Lordship answer'd, Why, Bob, you must know that this Monument and Inscription, are design'd only for the Inspection of the *Frasers*; and though No Body besides should believe a word of it, yet as it Commemorates the Merits and Virtues of their Chief, they must and will believe every Syllable there inscrib'd, and their Posterity will regard it with as much Veneration as the Gospel itself.

*This Inscription on this Monument, erected by his
Lorpskip, is as follows.*

To the MEMORY of

THOMAS LORD FRASER, of LOVAT, who
chose rather to undergo the greatest Hardships
of Fortune, than to part with the antient Ho-
nours of his House, and bore those Hardships
with undaunted Fortitude of Mind,

This MONUMENT was erected

By SIMON Lord FRASER of LOVAT, his
Son, who having likewise undergone many and
great Vicissitudes of good and bad Fortune,
thro' the Malice of his Enemies, he, in the
End, at the Head of his Clan, forced his Way
ty his paternal Inheritance. with his Sword in
his Hand, and relieved his Kindred and Fol-
lowers from Oppression and Slavery. And both
at Home and in foreign Countries, by his
eminent Actions in the War and in the State,
he has acquired great Honours and Repu-
tations.

Hic tegit ossa lapis *Simonis* fortis in armis,

Restituit pressum nam genus ille suum.

Hoc marmor posuit cari genitoris honori,

In genus afflictum par erat ejus amor.

The

The Motto of this Family was *Je suis prest*. I AM READY, till the present Lord having overcome all his Evemies without Bloodshed, in any one Instance, assumed that of *Sine sanguine victor*..

His Lordship was undoubtedly under the grooteft Obligation to the Government for the fortunate Turn in his Affairs after the Year 1715.

His late Majesty was continually heaping Favours upon him; made him Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of *Inverness*, gave him a Pension, and the Command of a Highland Independent Company, there being several of those Companies after the Rebellion to preserve the Piece of the Highlands. The King knew my Lord's Character, and that he appear'd in Arms against the Rebels purely to serve himself; and therefore his Majesty resolv'd, if possible, by loading him by Favours, to let him see, that his chiefest Interest lay in serving the Government faithfully. This was good Policy, and had a late Minister pursued the same Measures, Lord Lovat might still have remain'd stedfast in the Interest of his Country, and the Rebellion never have gone those Lengths it did.

But in the Year 1738, his Lordship having voted contrary to the Directions of the Ministry, although the Candidate he voted for was in the Court Interest, they took away his Pension, stript him of his Command, and depriv'd him

him of every Mark of the Government's Favour.

Another Step which the Ministry took, equally impolitick, as it was generall thought was, the regimenting the Highland Companies in 1739, which were rais'd for preserving Tranquillities in the Highlands, but were represented by a certain great Officer as no longer of Use in that Capacity, and in the Year 1742 went sent to *Flanders*; and no more than six Companies were left in the Garrisons of the Highlands, viz. at Fort St. George, Fort *Augustus*, Fort *William* and *Rutbven*. By which Means Lord *Loval* was left at Liberty to put in Practice all his revengeful Schemes, which his Malice and Disaffection could suggest or inspire.

And it was not long before his Lordship discover'd his Disgust and Disaffection. His Conversation plainly shew'd, that he only wanted an Opportunity to break out into open Rebellion.

No wonder then, considering his Power and Influence among the Clans, that so many of them have taken Part with the Pretender, whom he resolv'd from the first to assist wsth' his Forces.

But as this could not be done without incurring the Guilt of High Treason, he determin'd to act with the greatest Caution and Circumspection; and rather than expose himself to the Resentment of the Government, he

chose

chose to sacrifice his eldest Son, the unhappy Master of *Lovat*.

Not long after the Battle of *Preston-Paus*, the *Frasers*, to the Number of 500, were assembled, and armed, and sent to join the Rebels at *Perib*: But that his Lordship might seem to have no Hand in it, this little Stratagem was put in Practice. It was given out, that a large Number of Lord *Lovat*'s Cattle were stolen and carried off by a Party of Robbers, and that there were certain Information brought in that the Thieves were driving them southwards.

Whereupon the Master of *Lovat* was detached after them at the Head of the abovementioned Body of *Frasers*; but using too little Caution in their March, they were intercepted by a Party of the Rebels: and forced to take on with them.

A Report was current about this Time, and generally believed, that his Lordship made an Offer to a certain great Man at Court, that if 25,000 *l.* was put into his Hands, to be distributed among the Chiefs of the Clans, he would engage that that Part of the Country should be kept quiet, and the Highlanders obliged to assist the King's Forces. Strange as this Proposal was, after he had work'd up the Spirits of Rebellion in his Clan, yet he had this View in it, that upon Refusal of the Offer, he cherish'd and kept alive the Rebellious Disposition in them, by an Ostentation of his own Importance,

Importance, and likewise to render himself the more considerable in the Eyes of the Government.

His Proposal however was rejected with Disdain, and his Designs suspected; and so he was reduc'd to a sort of Necessity of engaging in Support of the Prender, whose Cause, above forty Years ago, he had notoriously betray'd, and strenuously opposed in 1715, and therefore could not now expect any great Confidence from that Party.

The Lord President, who since the breaking out of the Insurrection in *Scotland*, has been exceeding active and vigilant in the Service of the Government, out of a sincere Concern for Lord *Lovat*, wrote a Letter, expressing his unfeigned Friendship for his Lordship, but at the same Time intimated that he was not unacquainted with his secret and disloyal Practices entreating him to relinquish an enterprize, the certain and unavoidable Consequence of which would be Ruin and Destruction to himself and Family, and advised him to order and enjoin his Son and People to leave the Rebels, and return to their Duty and Allegiance to their natural and lawful Sovereign. This produced an Answer from his Lordship, the Perusal of which may convince any Man to which Side his Inclinations were byas'd, and is indeed a true Picture of the Man. Evasions and Sophistry he opposes to Reason and Argument, and covers his real Designs under the Cloak

Hypocri

But as the Letter and the Answer will best discover the different Temper and Disposition of the Writers of them, we shall insert them both for the Satisfaction of the Reader.

Lord President's Letter to Lord Lovat dated at Inverness the 28th of October, 1745.

My Lord,

As I have now the Honour of being charged with the Publick Affairs in this Part of the Kingdom, I can no longer remain a Spectator of your Lordship's Conduct, and see the double Game you have played for some Time past, without betraying the Trust reposed in me, and at once risking my Reputation, and the Fidelity that I owe to his Majesty as a good Subject. Your Lordship's Actions now discover evidently your Inclinations, and leave us no further in the Dark about what Side you are to choose in the present unhappy Insurrection: You have now so far pulled off the Mask, that we can see the Mark you aim at, though on former Occasions, you have had the skill and Address to disguise your Intentions in Matters of far less Importance. And indeed methinks a little more of your Lordship's wonted Artifice would not have been amiss, whatever had been your private Sentiments with Respect to this unnatural Rebellion. You should, my Lord, have duly consider'd and estimated the Advantages that would arise to

Your Lordship from its Success, and balanced them with the Risques you run if it should happen to Miscarry ; and above all Things you ought to have considered your own Safety, and allowed that the chief Place in your System of Politicks ; which, I persuade myself, would have induced to have played the Game after a quite different Manner, and with a much greater Degree of Caution and Policy. But so far has your Lordship been from acting with your ordinary Finesse and Circumspection on this Occasion, that you sent away your Son and the best part of your Clan to join the Pretender, with a little Concern as if no Danger had attended such a Step : I say, sent them away ; for we are not to imagine they went of themselves, or would have ventured to take Arms without your Lordship's Concurrence and Approbation : This, however, you are pretty sure cannot be easily proved, which I believe indeed may be true. But I cannot think it will be a difficult Matter to make it appear, that the whole strain of your Lordship's Conversation in every Company where you appear'd, since the Pretender's Arrival, has tended to pervert the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects, and seduce them from their Allegiance : And give me leave to tell you, my Lord, even this falls under the *Construction of treason*, and is no less liable to the Punishment than upon Rebellion ; as I am afraid your Lordship will find when once this Insurrection is crushed, and the Government

vernment at leisure to examine into the Affair.
 And I am sorry to tell you, my Lord, that I could
 sooner undertake to plead the Cause of any of those
 unhappy Gentlemen, who are just now actually
 in Arms against his Majesty, and I could say
 more in Defence of their Conduct, than I can in
 Defence of your Lordships. The Duke of Perth
 and Lord Ogilvy never qualified, nor did they
 ever receive the smallest Favour from the present
 Government; but on the contrary, were both
 stripped of their titles and honours, and from Men
 of the first Quality, reduced to the State of pri-
 vate Gentlemen, since the Revolution, and may
 both be supposed to act from a Principle of Ret-
 sentment, and only take up Arms to recover what
 they thought themselves unjustly deprived of. Lord
 George Murray never had any place or pension
 from the Publick, and was, no doubt, drawn in by
 the Influence of the Marquis of Tullibardin, per-
 haps, touched with Pity and Commiseration for
 his eldest Brother, who has spent the best Part of
 his life in Exile, and undoubtedly upon an Allow-
 ance much inferior to his Dignity. These and such
 like Apologies, may be offered in Defence of most of
 the leading men in the present Rebellion; but what
 shall I say in Favour of you my lord? You, who
 have flourished under the present happy Establish-
 ment; you, who in the beginning of your Days,
 forfeited both your life and fortune, and yet, by
 the Benignity of the Government, was not only in-
 dulged in the liberty of living at Home, but even
 restored to all you could lay claim to: Nay, his
 majesties

Majesty's Goodness went so far as to employ your Lordship in his Service, and was pleased to honour you with the Command of one of the Independent Companies that were raised some Years ago in the Highlands, which you enjoyed for a very long Time ; So that both Duty and Gratitude ought to have influenced your Lordship's Conduct, at this critical Juncture, and disposed you to have acted a part quite different from what you have done. But there are some Men whom no Duty can bind, nor no Favour can oblige ; and, I am afraid, if a timely Repentance do not prevent it, your Lordship will, not unjustly be ranked among that Number.

You now see, my Lord, how unanimous the People of *England* are against the Pretender, and what Forces they are mustering they are mustering up to oppose him. The King has ordered Home his Troops ; several Noble men have raised Regiments at their own Expences ; and every County and Corporation throughout the Kingdom are entering into Associations in Defence of the present Establishment: So that these few unhappy Gentlemen who are engaged in this Rebellion, will have Armies after Armies to encounter, and if your Lordship entertains any Hopes of their Success you will find your Mistake, when it is too late to mend it. What I would therefore propose to your Lordship, as the only Expedient left left to rescue you from the Hazard of a
rigorous

rigorous Prosecution, is, to recall your Son and his Men immediately. This Step, I am persuaded, would produce several good Consequences; for, on the one Hand, it would prevent Numbers from joining the Rebels, who now hang in Suspence; and, on the other, occasion a great many of those already engaged to desert and retire to their respective Habitations, and, perhaps, may be the Means of crushing the Rebellion without further Bloodshed; which would do your Lordship a great deal of Honour, and such a remarkable Piece of Service would be amply rewarded by the Government. If you shall judge it proper, my Lord, to follow this Advice, it will give me a great deal of Pleasure, as it will contribute to stop the Progress of an unhappy Civil War, that threatens us with endless Calamities; but if your Lordship continues obstinate, and will not order your Men to disband and return Home, I shall be obliged to take you into Custody be the Event what it will: And then your Lordship will run the Risque of having your Family extirpated as well as others of the Highland Chiefs. Now, my Lord, I have told your Lordship my Sentiments pretty freely, and no less out of Friendship to your Lordship than Duty to the Publick. I might have advanced many other Arguments, to induce your Lordship to follow my Advice, but, methinks, what I have already said, is sufficient; and so I shall only further add, that I am,

Yours, &c.

Lord Lovat's Letter to the above, dnted at Beau
fort, 29th October, 1745.

My dear Lord,

I received the Honour of your Lordship's Letter late last Night, of Yesterday's Date; and I own I never received one like it since I was born; and I give your Lordship ten thousand^s Thanks for the kind Freedom you make with me in it: For I see by it, that for my Misfortune, in having an obstinate stubborn Son, and ungrateful Kindred, my Family mug go to Destruction, and I must lose my Life in my old Age,

Such Usage looks rather like a *Turkish* or or *Persian* Government, than like a *British*. Am I, my Lord, the first Father that has had an undutiful and unnatural Son? Or am I the first Man that has made a good Estate and saw it destroyed in his own Time by the mad foolish Actions of an unnatural Son, who prefers his own extravagant Fancies to the solid Advice of an affectionate old Father? I have seen instance of this in my own Time, but never heard till now, that the Foolishness of a Son would take away the Life and Liberty of a Father that lived peaceably, and was an honest Man, and well inclined to the rest of Mankind. But I find, the longer a Man lives, the more Wonders and extraordinary Things he sees. Now,
my

my dear Lord, I beg Leave to tell you my Mind freely in my Turn.

I thank God I was born with very little Fear in the greatest Difficulties and Dangers by Sea and Land, and by God's Assistance, I have often saved my Life by the Firmness and Steadiness of my Resolutions; and though I have now but a little Remains of a Life that is clogged with Infirmities and Pain, yet by God's Assistance, I am resolved to preserve it as long as I can.

And tho' my Son should give way with the young People of his Clan, yet I will have six six Hundred brave *Frasers* at Home, many of them about my own Age, that will lose the last drop of Blood to preserve my Person; and I do assure your Lordship, if I am attalked, that I will sell my Life as dear as I can.

For since I am as peaceable a Subject as any in the Kingdom, and as ready to pay the King's Taxes, and to do every Thing that a faithful Subject ought to do, I know no Law or Reason that my Person should not be in Safety.

I did use, and will use, the strongest Arguments that my Reason can suggest to me by my Cousin *Gortulegge*, that he may repeat them to my Son; and if they should not prevail, is it any ways just or equitable that I should be punished for the Faults of my Son? Now, my dear Lord, as to the uncivil War that occasions my Misfortunes, and in which almost the whole Kingdom is involved, on one Side or the

the other, I humbly think, that Men should be moderate on both Sides, since it is morally impossible to know the Event; for Thousands, ten Thousands on both sides, are positive that their own Party will carry.

And suppose that this venturous Prince should be utterly defeated, and that the Government should carry all in Triumph, no Man can think that any King upon the Throne would destroy so many antient good Families for engaging in a Cause that was always their Principle, and what they thought their Duty to support.

King *William* was as great a King as to his Knowledge of Government and Politicks, as late for many hundred Years upon the Throne of *England*; and when his General, who was the best in *Europe*, was defeated, and forced to run to save his Life, and all his army routed at *Killicranny* by a handful of Highlanders, not full two thousand in Number, King *William* was so far from desiring to extirpate them, that he sent the Earl of *Brodalbine* with twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, and sought no other Conditions from them, than that they should live peaceably at Home. So, my Lord, you cannot imagine, that though the Highlanders should be defeated at this Time, and most of them killed, and the Government full Masters of the Kingdom that any administration would be a dangerous Enterprize

Enterprize; which we nor our Children could see at an End.

I pray God we may never see such a Scene in our Country, as Subjects killing and destroying their Fellow-Subjects. For my Part, my Lord, I am resolved to live a peaceable Subject in my own House, and do nothing against the King or Government. And if I am attacked by the King's Guards, and his Captain General at their Head, I will defend myself as long as I have Breath in me: And if I am killed here, it is not far to my Burial place; and I will have, after I am dead, what I always wished, the Coronach of all the Women in my Country, to convey my Body to my Grave; and that was my Ambition, when I was in my Situation in the World.

*I am, my Lord,
your Lordship's, &c.*

The Lord President's Endeavours to reclaim his Lordship from the pernicious and rebellious Courses he was taking, proving ineffectual, and he appearing rather more daring and open than ever in the Pretender's Cause; the Lord Loudon thought it highly necessary to put an immediate stop to the Progress he was making in favour of the Rebellion. A circumstantial Account of the Course which the Lord Loudon took to bring Lord Lovat to Reason, is thus related in *Marchant's History of the Rebellion*, P. 271.

Inverness, Dec. 22. Upon the News of the March of the Rebels into England, and some pretended Successes gained by them, the Frasers, headed by the Lord Lovat's Son, form'd a sort of a Blockade of Fort Augustus, while Lord Lewis Gordon in Bamff and Aberdeenshire was raising Men, and levying Money, by Force and Threats of the most severe Military Execution.

The Money expected from the Town and shire of Aberdeen amounted to near 13000*l.* Sterling. Thereupon the Earl of Loudon, with 600 of the well-affected Clans, marched in a very severe Frost through Stratherrick, part of Lord Lovat's Estate, on the South Side of Lochness, to the Relief of Fort Augustus.

He met with no Opposition, supplied the Place with what was wanting, and returned to Inverness December 8. After letting the Inhabitants of Stratherrick know what they were to expect if they joined the Rebels.

This Detachment, after one Day's Rest, was order'd to march to relieve Bamff and Aberdeenshire. For this End the two Companies of M'Kenzies, who had been posted near Brahan, were called into Inverness the 9th, and on the 10th the Lord Loudon, with 800 Men, marched out to Lord Lovat's House of Castledouny, to obtain the best Security he could for the peaceable Behaviour of the Frasers; at the same Time the Laird of Macleod

was

was detached with 500 Men (400 whereof were of his own Kindred) toward Elgin, in their Way to Bamff and Aberdeenshire, to prevent the Rebels recruiting there ; and they were to be Lord Loudon's, and as many Men as could be spared from Inverness.

Lord Loudon prevailed with lord Lovat on the 11th to go with him to Inverness, and to live there under his Eye, till he should bring in all the Arms which his Clan was possessed of, which he promised to do in three Days Time, and highly condemned the Behaviour of his Son.

Whilst Lord Loudon waited for the Delivery of these Arms, 200 Men, under Capr. Munro of Colcairn, were detached by his Lordship to follow Macleod to Elgin and Aberdeen.

Lord Lovat after delaying to fulfil his Promise from Time to Time, at last found Means to get out of the House where he Was lodged at a back passage, and made his Escape ; but did not go back to his House at Castledouny, but secreted himself among the Clans, where he employ'd himself in spiriting up and encouraging the Frasers and others to act strenuously for the Pretender.

After the Arrival of the Hessians, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland had raised the Siege of Stirling Castle, the Rebels marched Northwards, and many of them dispers'd and went Home, and it was generally thought

thought they would never have been able to make Head again.

However, about the latter End of March they began to get their Bodies together, and appear'd in great Numbers from their several Clans. This Re-union of them 'twas said, was owing to a Scheme which a Gentleman had drawn up, and calculated for the entire Prevention of such Insurrections for the future, which was by transporting all those that were found in Arms against the Government, to our Plantations in America.

Lord Lovat having got Notice of this procur'd the Scheme in Writing, got it translated into the Highland Language, shew'd it to the Rebels, and at the same Time told them, that the Duke of Cumberland was come to put it in Execution, and would certainly take them away every Mother's Son; and therefore advised them, if they had any Regard for their Liberties, Properties, Wives and Children, that they would stand stoutly on their Defence and then they need not fear any Forces that the most powerful Enemy could bring against them; and it seems they pursued his Advice.

His Lordship was exceeding active in the Cause, even beyond his Years, in making false Alarms, and exasperating the Rebels against the Duke and his Forces, who he assured them were coming into the Highlands on purpose to extirpate them Root and Branch. Nay, it

was

was affirm'd, that his Lordship was at the Pains of drawing up a long Manifesto, setting forth the Miseries, the Rapine and Violence that their Enemies were then bringing upon them, which they had no other Way to avoid but by exerting their usual Prowess in their Defence.

This Manifesto, or Declaration, it is said, he caus'd to be read publicly in the *Kirks* every Sunday.

In the Letter which the young Pretender wrote to his Father, he acknowledged the Services done him by the Lord *Lovat* and his Son, who continued firmly attached to him, and neglected nothing that could contribute to the Advancement of his Cause.

At the famous Battle of *Culloden*, the Master of *Lovat* he added the *Frasers*, who behaved with their wonted Bravery and Resolution.

But his Lordship was, at that Time, it seem, at his House at *Castledouny*; whether the young Pretender, after the Battle, fled, and found his Lordship in his Chamber. My Lord, said he, we are undone! my Army is routed; what will become of poor *Scotland*? and not being able to utter any more, fell down on the Bed, and swooned away. His Lordship immediately ask'd for Assistance, and with proper Application, he recover'd his Senses: But it was only to renew his Grief, which he utter'd in the most bitter Exclamations against the Hardships of his Fortune. . His Lordship, far
from

from being able to condole him in his Trouble, and need of Comfort himielf. For in this Overthrow of the Army, he plainly saw his own; for his own Prosperity or Destruction were so intimately connected with the Fate of the Rebels, that both must stand or fall together.

After the first Excess of their Passion was a little abated, they consider'd, that *Castledowny* was no place of Safety for them, for the Enemy wou'd be soon in Pursuit of them; and therefore they must make off as fast as they could. Accordingly the next Morning they retired to the Mountains, and having collected together some Officers, and a few of their Men, they got upon an Eminence, where they had a Prospect to a great Distance all around them; and from thence they could easily perceive the dreadful Effects of the Battle; Heaps of their Men lying in their Blood; others flying before their Enemies; Fire and Sword raging every where, and a great deal of it upon his own Estate, and among his Tenants; upon which his Lordship address'd those of his sorrowful *Clan* that were with him in Words of this Effect. — Now, Gentlemen, you see my Predictions, that our Enemies would destroy us with Fire and Sword, prove true: They have begun with me, and will not - not make an End till they have laid waste, ravaged, and burnt our unhappy Country.

After

After this his Lordship retired farther into the Fastnesses of the mountains, where he hid himself for a good while; here he had Leisure enough to reflect on his Folly in bringing Ruin and Destruction upon himself, his Family, and even his Posterity; now he had Time to consider the Weakness of the Arguments that prevail'd on him and the rest of the rebellious Clans to undertake such a mad Enterprize as that of overthrowing a Government so firmly establish'd, so strongly fortified with Laws, so strengthened by the Protestant Religion, so well supported by the Tenaciousness of the People for their Religion, so well supported by the Tenaciousness of the People for their Religion, Liberties and Properties, as the *English* is universally known to be.

The Notion of Hereditary Right, in Preference to the Good of the People, and for whose sake Government itself was ordain'd, now appears to him a mere Chimera, and an Imposition on the understandings of Mankind.

His Royal Highness being well informed, that the Lord Lovat was lurking about somewhere in the Mountains, and that he had been seen at a particular Place, Parties were immediately sent out in search of him, to seize and bring him to Justice. But his Lordship, being sensible how obnoxious he had render'd himself to the Government, by fomenting, and contributing all in his Power to the Continuance and Success of the late Insurrection among the Clans

was well assured that the King's Forces would soon be in Pursuit of him; and would leave no Stone unturn'd to take him; and therefore that he must not stay long in a Place. Accordingly he quitted his first Abode, and made off to another Part of the Country.

June 4. An Act of Attainder passed, to attain of High Treason, forty-three Persons; among whom was *Simon Fraser, Esq;* Son of *Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat*; and in another Bill of Attainder which was prepared in *July*, for attainting forty-four of the Rebels, was *Simon Fraser Lord Lovat*.

His Lordship not thinking it safe to remain longer upon the main Land, got off in a Boat to one of the Western Islands. He thought himself secure from all Danger; but his bad Fate following him, it was not long before he had information that a Party of the King's Forces was come into that very Island in search of him. Nor was he misinform'd; for his Royal Highness being inform'd that he was got into the Islands, sent a Detachment of the Garrison of *Fort William*, under the Command of *Capt. Millar*, on board the *Furnace* and *Terror* Sloops to make Descents. His Lordship no sooner heard of their Arrival, but he immediately got into the Woods, where he imagined he should be in the greatest Security.

Capt. Millar being landed, and assured from good Hands, that his Lordship was in the Island, was very diligent in his search after him.

There

There was not a Town, Village, or House, but what he examin'd very strictly; and not finding him, resolv'd to traverse the Woods, and planted Parties of several Corners or Openings th lay hold of him, in Case he should endeavour to make his Escape. The Captain and some of his Men happening to go by a very large Tree, that by some Breaches in it seem'd to be hollow, one of them, whether accidentally, or though Curiosity, is uncertain, peep'd into a Hole of the Trees, and thought he saw a Man's Leg. Upon which, calling to the Captain, they examin'd the Tree more more strictly, and found on one Side of it a large Opening, and a standing uprigh't, but his Leegs only could be seen. The Captain immediately laid hold of his Leggs, and pull'd him down, and lugg'd him out with his Heels foremost; when, when to his no small Surprise and Pleasure, he beheld the Lord Lovat himself, whom he had been three Days in Search of.

The Captain having thus got fast hold of his Prize, committed him to the Care of his Men, to carry him to the Sloops, and so convey him to a Place of Security. However his Lordship far from being daunted at this new Misfortune, and scarce thinking him self a Prisoner, told the Captain, *that he had best use him well: for if he did not, he should make him answer for his Conduct before a Set of Gentlemen, the very Sight of* *Sight of whom would make him tremble.* the Cap

tain smil'd at his Assurance, and told him, he would take particular Care that his Usage should be as good as a Man in his Situation might expect; and so without more Ceremony, conducted him to Fort *Augustus*, where his Lordship was treated, by the Duke's Order, with the utmost Tenderness and Humanity; and being very weak and infirm, he had all preper Assistance allow'd him, and every obliging Indulgence shewn him.

A true Copy of a Letter wrote by Lord Lovat, to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, Dated at Fort William, June 22, 1736.

SIR,

This Letter is most humbly addressed to your Royal Highness by the very unfortunate *Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat*. I durst not presume to solicit or petition your Royal Highness for any Favour, if it was not very well known to the best People in this Country attached to the Government, such as the Lord President, add by those that frequented the Court at that Time, that I did mere essential Service to your Royal Family, in suppressing the great Rebellion in the Year 1715, with the Hazard of my Life, and the Loss of my only Brother, than any of my Rank in *Scotland*; for which I had three Letters of Thanks from my Royal Master, by the Hands of Earl of *Stanhope*, then Secretary of State; in which his Majesty strongly

ly promised to give me such Marks of his Favour as should oblige all the Country to be faithful to him; therefore the gracious King was as good as his Word to me; for as soon as I arrived at Court, and was introduced to the King by the late Duke of *Argyle*, I became, by Degrees, to be as great a Favourite as any *Scotman* about the Court; and I often carried your Royal Highness in my Arms in the Parks at *Kensington* and *Hampton Court*, to hold you up for your Royal Grandfather, that he might embrace you, for he was very fond of you, for he was very fond of you and the young Princesses.

Now, Sir, all that I have to say in my present Circumstances is, that your Royal Highness will be pleased to extend your Goodness will be pleased to extend your Goodness towards me in a generous and compassionate Manner, in my deplorable Situation, and if I have the Honour to kiss your Highness's Hand, I would easily demonstrate to you, that I can do more Service to the King and Government, than destroying an hundred such old, and very infirm Men like me, past 70 (without the least Use of my Hands, Legs, or Knees) can be of Advantage in any Shape to the Government.

Your Royal Father, our present Sovereign, was very kind to me in the Year 1715, I presented on my Knees to his Majesty a Petition in Favour of the Laird of *M. Intosh*, to obtain a
Protection

Protection for him, which he granted me, and gave it to *Charles Catchcart*, then Groom of his bedchamber; and ordered him to deliver in into my Hands, that I might give it to the Laird of *M^cIntosh*. This was but one Testimony of several Marks of Goodness his Majesty was pleased to bestow on him while the King was at *Hanover*; so I hope I shall feel that the same compa&onate Blood runs in your Royal Highness Veins.

Major General *Campbell* told me, that he had the Honour to acquaint your Royal Highness, that he was sending me to *Fort William*, and that he begged of your Royal Highness to order a Letter to be made for me to carry me to *Fort Augustus*; as I am in such a Condition that I am not able to stand, walk or ride. I am with the utmost Submission, and most profound Respect, S I R,

*Your Royal Highness's most obedient,
and most faithful humble Servant,*
Sign'd, *LOVAT.*

July 15, his Lordship was convey'd to *Stirling* under a strong Guard; where he was received by a Detachment of Lord Mark Ker's Dragoons, under the Command of Major Gardiner. From *Stirling*, after a few days rest, he proceeded to *Edinburgh*, on his way to *London*: From thence he went on to *Berwick*; and on the 25th proceeded on his Journey being escorted by Major Gardiner and sixty Dragoons.

On the 14th of *August* his Lordship lay at *Barnet*, and the 15th, which was the 15th, which was the *Friday* before the Lords were beheaded on *Tower-hill*. In his Way to the Tower, he pass'd by the Scaffold that was erected for that Execution, and seeing it through the Coach Door, *Ay!* says he, *is it so? It won't be long, I suppose, before I shall make my Exit there.*

Being come to the Tower, he was receiv'd there by Lieutenant Governor *William*, who conducted him to the Apartment appointed for his Reception; but being very feeble both in his Hands and Legs, some of the Wardens were forc'd to assist him from the Coach to his Room. Being seated in an Elbow Chair, he could not forbear uttering some Reflections on the Hardships of his Fate, to this Effect: What a terrible Life, said he, has mine been? The former Part of it was full of Confusion and Trouble, distress'd by my Enemies, depriv'd of my Honours and Estate, persecuted and hunted from native Place, obliged to take Refuge in bleak and barren Mountains, forced to procure even the Necessaries of Life among a People little better than Savages, and suffer all the Inclemencies of the Seasons, and almost perished with Hunger and Cold, My Enemies, not content with the forlorn Condition to which they had driven me, sought my Life with as much Eagerness as the Hound does that of the Hare: To save myself from their hungry

Jaws, I was oblig'd to quit my native Country, and seek for shelter in a foreign Kingdom, where I remain'd many Years in Exile. What Scenes of Hardships, Afflictions, and Distresses, have I gone thro'! What a Variety of Troubles and Sorrows have I experienc'd! No Man, I believe, ever suffer'd more; no Man over deserv'd them less. But so it has pleas'd Heaven to deal with me; and I am content. I am now arrived at old Age, and was in Hopes I should have spent my few remaining Days in Peace and Tranquility. But it seems, I have not yet suffered enough; the Malice of my Fate has prepar'd another melancholy Scene for me; and the last Act of my Life is to conclude the Whole in a very tragical Catastrophe. Be it so; I have at least this Comfort to support me, that I have at least this Comfort to support me, that I never deviated from those Principles which I first imbibed, and which I always thought just and upright; and whatever my Enemies have to alledge against my Conduct or Actions, this I can truly affirm, that my Behaviour has, on all Occasions, been consistent with my Sentiments. No doubt I have been guilty of many Errors; and who-soever says he is without, let him cast the first Stone at me. But it affords no small Consolation, that at a Time when I have nothing left to support me but a good Conscience, that in all my Dealings with Mankind, whether they were my Superiors, Equals, or Inferiors, I a-
way

ways acted from a thorough Conviction, that what *I* was not right and equitable : But *bunum est errare* ; and *I* hope the great God will not now, in my old Age, bring in Judgment against me the Sins and Follies of my Youth, or even of my more advanced Years ; but mercifully remember the Fralities of human Nature, the Defects and Imperfections of Reason, the Strength of Passions, the Voilence of Temptations, all which separately. but more especially conjunctly, might too powerfully bias the Mind, and consequently, too much influence the Will to commit to suah Things as could not always square either with the Laws of God or Man.

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